

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
REVOLUTIONS
IN
SWEDEN,

OCCASIONED BY

The Change of Religion, and Al-
teration of the Government in
that Kingdom.

Written Originally in FRENCH,
By the Abbot *VERTAT*:

Printed the last Year at *PARIS*,
And now done into ENGLISH,
By *J. MITCHEL*, M.D.

With a Map of *Sweden, Denmark and Norway*.

L O N D O N,

Printed for *A. Swall* and *T. Child*, at the Uni-
corn in *St. Paul's Church-yard*. 1696.

Mr. Lee a. let?

TO
HIS GRACE
The Duke of
SHREWSBURY,
One of His Majesty's
Principal Secretaries
OF
STATE.

May it please your Grace,

AS we have the *unwonted*,
and perhaps the *peculiar*
Happiness, to live un-
der a Sovereign, whose Interest
is inseparably united to that
A 2 of

The Epistle Dedicatory.

of his *Subjects*, we have also the Pleasure to see the Management of Affairs committed to the Care of a *Minister*, who has extinguish'd the unhappy Distinction betwixt a *Courtier* and a *Patriot*; and has an equal Regard to the Honour of the *Crown*, and to the true Interest of his *Country*. You are at once the Favourite of the *Prince*, and of the *People*: You have always preserv'd an unshaken Fidelity to the *one*, and a generous Affection to the *other*; and are equally belov'd by the *Former*, and ador'd by the *Latter*. You Inherit the unsully'd Glory of your *Ancestors*; and the Illustrious Name

The Epistle Dedicatory.

Name of TALBOT, is now as
Terrible to *Lewis XIV.*, as it
was heretofore Fatal to *Charles*
the Seventh, The Eyes of all
the World are fix'd upon you;
they look upon you as a *Pub-*
lick Good; and, next to your
Great Master, you are the Ob-
ject of their Hope and Expe-
ctations. You are the Chief
Encourager and Promoter of
Publick Designs, and are con-
sequently the fittest *Patron* for
a Work that gives us so lively
an *Idea* of the vast Dispropor-
tion betwixt the *Subjects* of a
Hero, and the *Slaves* of a *Ty-*
rant. And 'tis this Considera-
tion alone, which makes me
hope, That the *Honesty* of the

The Epistle Dedicatory.

*Intention will prevail with you
to excuse the Errors and Pre-
sumption of*

Your Grace's

Most humbly

Devoted Servant,

John Mitchel.

The

The TRANSLATOR's PREFACE.

Since there are few (if any) Readers, who are not desirous to be either diverted or instructed, the Translator presumes that he may spare himself the Trouble of Recommending a Book which is so admirably well fitted to both these Designs, and will infallibly satisfy those who expect either Pleasure or Advantage by perusing it.

'Tis generally suppos'd to be written by the Abbot VERTAT; whose former Performances in this kind were receiv'd abroad with the unanimous Approbation of the best Judges, and have justly entis'd him to the Character of an Excellent Historian. But tho' such as are acquainted with his other Works will be always ready to do Justice to his Merit and Reputation, those who reflect upon his Nation, Religion and Profession, and consider how frequently and grossly the Publick has been abus'd with Romances, under the specious Title of Histories, will be apt to suspect the Credit of his Relations, and fancy themselves in danger of being impos'd upon by the impudent Forgeries of a Maimburg or Varrillas.

It must be confess'd, that such Prejudices as these are so far from being Groundless Suspensions, that they are the natural Consequences of a prudent Caution. But since it wou'd be equally unjust and inhumane to condemn a Man for the Fault of another, our Author

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may reasonably desire his Readers to suspend their Judgment till they have examin'd his Book, which is the best Apology that can be made for him: For they will soon find a more than sufficient Number of convincing Proofs of his Innocence and Integrity, and be oblig'd to acknowledge that his Exactness and Impartiality are as conspicuous as the Clearness and Solidity of his Judgment. He penetrates into the deepest Mysteries of State, and discovers the hidden Springs that put all the Wheels in motion. He omits nothing that may serve to illustrate or embellish his Subject; and never inserts any thing that is either impertinent, or beneath the regard of a Historian. His Characters are just and lively, his Digressions few and useful, and he is every where consistent with himself. He represents Tyranny and Oppression in their native and ugly Form; and exposes the Avarice and Usurpations of the Church and Court of Rome, with as much Freedom as he censures Luther and his Followers. Such Plain-dealing and Ingenuity may be look'd upon as Prodigies, in a Book that is printed at Paris, dedicated to the Chancellor of France, and written by a French Abbot. And such rare and excellent Qualities may, in some measure, atone for the Harshness and Severity of his Reflexions upon the First Reformers; and will certainly oblige all moderate Persons to pardon an Errour that must be reckon'd among the Prejudices of Education, and perhaps was only intended as a Blind to cover him from the Resentment of the Court and Clergy, who might probably be offended at some bold Strokes in his Work, and conclude that the Blow was really aim'd at Them.

The Story describ'd in this Book is so uncommon,

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and attended with such improbable, and even almost incredible Circumstances; the Characters of the Principal Actors are so extraordinary, especially of the two contending Princes, who seem equally to exceed the usual Bounds of Humanity, tho' on very different Accounts, the one being as far below as the other is above the common Level of Mankind: The Turns are so unexpected, and disclose such surprizing Scenes, that the Reader can hardly forbear suspecting that he owes the whole Entertainment to the Fancy of the Author, and has only been diverted with the Fictitious Adventures of a Fabulous Hero. But the Truth of the Swedish Revolution will never be question'd by those who consider that the History of the present Age, and even our own Experience, may furnish us with Examples of no less wonderful Events; as it appears evidently by the following Instances.

Since no Man can be suppos'd to be capable of forgetting the late memorable Transactions in this Kingdom, 'twou'd be a ridiculous piece of Nicety to dispute the Truth of even the oddest and most improbable Circumstances of K. Christiern's Flight and Abdication.

The Story of the Massacre of Stockholm will not be condemn'd as a Fable; nor the unmanly Barbarity of that Prince, in murdering a whole Parliament, be reckon'd too black a Crime to be fasten'd upon a Crown'd Head, at a time when we have reason to believe that there are some Princes in Europe who scruple not to consent to, and even encourage the Assassination of a Sovereign.

No Man who is acquainted with the Amours of a Monarch who makes at present a very great Figure in the World, will be surpriz'd at the Character of Sigebrite,

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Sigebrite, and the Extravagant Passion of her Unfortunate Lover.

To conclude the Parallel, the undaunted Courage, steady Resolution, Admirable Conduct, Generous Magnanimity, and all the other Peaceful and Military Virtues, which are so eminently Remarkable in all the Actions of that Great Prince, who may be justly stil'd the Deliverer of the Swedish Nation, the Establisher of the Reform'd Religion, and the Restorer or rather the Founder of the Monarchy of that Kingdom, will perhaps be look'd upon as a Combination of Prodigies, and fill the mind of the Reader with an agreeable Amazement; but cannot appear Incredible to those who have the Happiness to live under the Dominion of a Hero, whose matchless Bravery, and inimitable Vertues darken the Fainter Glory of Gustavus's Reign.

*'Tis hop'd the Candid Reader will excuse the Faults of the Translation, in consideration of the extream Haste that occasion'd 'em: especially since 'twas thought fit to let pass some Inaccuracies of Stile, rather than to delay the Publication of a Work that may be of considerable use in the present Juncture. The end of the First, and the middle of the Second Part, both the Index's and the French Author's Preface were done by other Hands, but revis'd by the Translator of the rest, who takes this occasion to acknowledge that the Reader might have met with a more agreeable Entertainment, if an * Ingenious Gentleman who design'd to have undertaken the Work, and had actually begun the Translation, had had leisure to carry it on.*

*Mr. Terne

THE

THE AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

AMong the most Entertaining Subjects that History may afford us, I know none that deserve more Attention, than such Changes as States are subject to, with respect to Religion and Government. Every Man finds himself concern'd on the Account of what is most capable of moving his Affections, his Conscience, and his Ambition: Each Character is animated with lively Passions; All is in motion. The People designing to re-assume that which they think to be their Primitive Right, and most ancient Privileges, will chuse their own Master, and determine their Religion: They side with those, in whose Favour Prejudice and Passion sway 'em; while the Grandees themselves are forc'd to fawn upon the Mob, that they may by their Assistance advance their own Interests, and private Designs.

When the Historian is a good Painter, he presents a most curious Draught to the Reader's View: And if he be also a good Judge, he makes that useful and profitable, that before was pleasant; by shewing, on one hand, the Inconveniencies that attend those surprizing

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prizing Revolutions; and on the other, by giving us a faithful Description of their Character who appear on the Scene, and doing those famous Men all the Justice they deserve.

Here are represented a Nobility factious within it self, almost independent from their Sovereign, above all, jealous of the Authority which the Bishop's assum'd, and envious of their excessive Revenues. The Prelates usurping their Prince's Rights; and often profaning the Sanctity of their Character, by Sedition and Violence. A whole Kingdom divided between these two Parties; and the *Danes* turning their Neighbours Troubles to their own Profit and Advantage, declaring for one of 'em, and at length falling upon both. A Massacre of the Senate and Nobility; And, in a Word, the *Swedish* Monarchy shaken in its very Foundation, destitute of its King, Senate, Generals and Armies; and ready to become an unhappy Province of *Denmark*. When a Prince comes on the Stage, famous for his many Exploits, and the Head of that Branch which now sits on the Throne; whose Courage and Conduct expels the *Danes* out of his Country, and whose Policy does by degrees gain him all that Authority which the Clergy and Nobility had usurp'd on his Predecessors.

Here those Riches, which, in the former Ages of the Church, were the Marks of the Prince's Bounty, and the Reward of the Clergy's Holiness and Vertue, are seen to become
the

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the Occasion of those Disorders; which was the Cause and Pretence of their being utterly depriv'd of these Advantages.

Here an Elective Crown is made Successive and Hereditary, by the Valour of a Prince, who, from an unhappy Exile, becomes King; and so Absolute, as to change the Form of the Government, as his Inclination and Interest directed him.

I own, I was offended at the little Exactness and Sincerity many Authors wrote with, in relation to the Affairs with Sweden: Some have disguis'd the Truth of Things; and others have not been curious enough in informing us of the most remarkable Passages, and the Motives of those Enterprizes. But the more these Authors seem'd to contradict one another, the more Care I took to reconcile 'em; and to distinguish what was true from what was false, I perus'd with greater Application all the Historians who treat of this Subject, whether **Swedes, Danes, German or French,* Catholicks or Protestants: I read 'em free from all other Interest or Passion, than that of knowing the Truth, and writing it with Exactness: And I have reason to hope I shall not be accus'd of being byas'd by any Party; a Fault too mean to be committed by a sincere and impartial Historian.

gosis de quinque primariis Suecorum Gothorumque antiquis imperiis. Retorso au-
versus Petram Parvum. Jacobus Ziglerus testis oculatus Cæsar Halmienfis. Hist-
feld. Annales Episcoporum Stenincensium. Theatrum nobilitatis Suecana, Massonii.
Joannes Gothus Magnus. Olaus Magnus. Pontanus Saxo Grammaticus. Laccinius.
Schefferus. Cloytrius. Bazius. Burau. Pufendorf. Vita Ar. hispisc. Upsalantiun.
Crantzius. Vasterius. Meursius. Scandia illustrata Massonii. Antiquitates Suego-
thorum Lantii. Monsieur de Thou. Perizonius de Reimund. Varillan. Adambray.

I have

The Author's Preface.

I have not prais'd the Heads of the *Roman* Party in all they did, because all their Actions were not laudable : They always had the Advantage of defending a Party which had the Truth on its side ; but they themselves very often were contented with an outward Zeal, without an inward Faith ; and were less eager in the Defence of their Religion, than in that of the Wealth it procured 'em.

Neither have I wholly blam'd nor despi'd the Heads of the Protestant Faction, because they were not wholly to be blam'd, or despi'd : I have distinguish'd Error from Malice ; and respected the great Parts, and excellent Qualifications which God, as the Author of Nature, had endow'd such Persons with, as he had not led by his Grace into the Knowledge of his true Religion.

*Some Books lately Printed for A. Swall
and T. Childe, at the Unicorn in
St. Paul's Church-yard.*

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graphy: Or, a Compleat Description of all
the known Countries of the Earth; illu-
strated with Historical Remarks, and Accurate Maps,
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of all considerable Cities and Towns; and Draughts
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xemburg, Mons, Charleroy, Aeth, &c. Together with
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hensively and plainly related, according to the Holy
Scriptures, and the Writings of the Primitive Fa-
thers of most approved Authority. Illustrated with
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A Continuation of the Voyage to the World of Descartes.

All Translated from the French, will be speedily Published.

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T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F T H E
Revolutions
I N
S W E D E N.

SWEDEN was anciently an *Elective Kingdom*, 1350.
and was still such about the middle of the
Fourteenth Age; for tho' the Children and
nearest Relations of the Deceas'd Monarch were
usually advanc'd to the Throne, the Order of *Birth-*
right was sometimes neglected, and the Succession
was always determin'd by *Choice*. And by virtue
of this Right of *Election*, the *Swedes* oftentimes
claim'd a Power to *Depose* their Sovereigns, when
they incroach'd upon the Liberty and Privileges of
the Nation.

The *Royal Authority* was confin'd within very
narrow Limits; for the King cou'd neither make
War nor Peace, and much less raise Money or
Soldiers without the Consent of the *Senate*, or of
the *Estates* when they were assembl'd: 'Twas
not lawful for him to erect new Forts, or to put
the

1282. the Government of the old Castles into the Hands of Strangers. The bringing of Foreign Troops into the Kingdom, wou'd have infallibly expos'd him to the Danger of an Universal Revolt: For every thing that might serve to extend, or even to confirm the *Prerogative*, was hated and suspected by the *People*, who were as jealous of the Power of their *Sovereigns*, as of that of their *Neighbours* and *Enemies*.

The *Patrimonial Revenue* of the *Crown*, consisted only in certain small Territories near *Upsal*, and in a very easie Tribute which was exacted from the *Peasants* by way of a *Poll-Tax*. In the Reign of King *Magnus Ladaslafz*, the Copper Mines, the Propriety of the three great Lakes *Meler*, *Vener*, and *Veter*, and the Right of Fishing upon the Coast of the Baltick Sea, were by the Senate reunited to the *Crown*; and by the same Authority it was ordain'd, That they who had purchas'd untill'd Lands held in Fee, or a Right to Pasturage in the Forests, should afterwards pay those Duties to the *Crown*, from which they had freed themselves during the Civil Wars. Since by the Laws of the Kingdom, there were few Offences punishable with Death, the Fines and Forfeitures that were exacted on such Occasions, were of old a considerable Branch of the King's Revenue; but the *Bishops* and *Clergy* had seiz'd on the Profits which accru'd that way, and perhaps colour'd their Injustice under a Pretext that these Fines belong'd to the Church, as a kind of Expiation or Atonement for the Crimes of the Malefactors.

The Fees or Mannors, and the Governments of Castles, which at first were only granted for Life, or for a Term of Years, were insensibly chang'd to Hereditary Possessions: For the *Noble-men* who enjoy'd em, neglected the Payment of the usual Duties for those Posts which they held by no other

Title

Revolutions in Sweden.

3

1282.



Title but their own Power, and the Weakness of the Crown. And the *Bishops*, and others of the *Clergy*, who were possessors of such Places, made use of the plausible Pretext of *Religion*, to claim an Exemption from the Duties they were oblig'd to pay for those Estates which they pretended were devolv'd to the Church, and become part of its Patrimony. Thus the *Clergy* and *Nobility* had, by several Usurpations, engross'd so great a part of the *Prince's Revenue*, that the Remainder at that time was scarce sufficient to maintain 500 Horse. The *King* was almost only consider'd as the *Captain-General* of the State during the *War*, and as the *President of the Senate* in time of *Peace*: 'Tis true, the former of these Junctures was always most favourable to the Prerogative, especially when the War was carry'd on with Success against the Enemies of the Nation; but the Conclusion of a Peace put a stop to his growing Authority, and left him only a Power to call a Meeting of the Estates, to propose Matter for their Deliberation, and to execute their Decrees.

The Public Authority was almost entirely lodg'd in the *Senate*, which was usually compos'd of *Twelve Lords*, who for the most part were Governors of Provinces, or Principal Officers of State. These Lords attended the King at *Stockholm*, the Capital City of the Kingdom, when any Important Affairs were to be transacted. The *Archbishop of Upsal*, Primate of Sweden, was a Senator by his Office; and the *six Bishops* of the Kingdom bore a great Sway in the Meeting of the *Estates*, tho' they had no right to sit in the *Senate*, unless they were nominated by the King, or chosen by the Estates during an *Interregnum*. The Dignity of a Senator was not Hereditary, for the Nomination of those Officers was a Branch of the Royal Prerogative; and some of the Bishops, or principal Lords of the Kingdom, were chosen by the King to supply the vacant Places, who by this means had a fair Oppor-

1350.

*Lincolne,
Svevner,
Vesterås,
Scara, Åbo,
and Växiö.*

1282.

1282. tunity to introduce his Friends and Creatures into the Senate. But he was frequently disappointed in his Choice, and for the most part lost a Friend when he made him a Senator: For the nearer a Favorite was advanc'd to his Master's Power and Authority, he was the farther remov'd from his Interest. And besides the Love of Liberty and Affection to their Country, were in those days the predominant Passions of the *Swedes*; nor could any Engagement or Obligation weaken the Bias of so powerful an Inclination.

The *Senate* which at first was only instituted as a *Council* to advise the King, had by degrees assum'd an Authority over his Actions. The eldest Senator pretended a Right to admonish and check the Prince, when he transgress'd the Limits of his Prerogative. The People look'd upon the Senators as the Protectors of the Liberty and Privileges of the Nation. The Sovereign Power and Majesty of the State was properly lodg'd in that Body. There Justice was administer'd Independently and without Appeal, and both War and Peace depended on their Deliberations. 'Tis true they acted joyn'tly with the King, but he was oftentimes oblig'd to content himself with the Honour of executing their Resolutions.

The *Clergy* were possess'd of greater Riches than the King and all the other Estates of the Kingdom. The *archbishop* of *Upsal* and his six *Suffragans*, maintain'd their Dignity with all the Splendor that a vast Treasure cou'd enable 'em to display. They were for the most part the Temporal Lords of their Episcopal Sees: And besides the Possessions that were annex'd to their Bishopricks, which consisted in several considerable *Signiories* or Lordships, they had made themselves Heirs to all the Ecclesiasticks that died Intestate in their respective Diocesses, which by degrees had extreamly augmented their Revenues. They enjoy'd the Profits of Fines and Forfeitures which formerly

formerly belong'd to the Crown, and by several Foundations and Pious Legacies, had made themselves Masters of a considerable number of the King's Mannors and Fees. The Patrimony of the Church was daily augmented by Donations, but cou'd never be diminish'd by Sale or Alienation, for such Practices were forbid'den by exprels Laws; which were as prejudicial to the *Lasty*, as advantageous to the *Clergy*, and serv'd only to establish the Grandeur of the latter, upon the Ruins of the former.

The *Bishops* made so good Use of the Influence they had over the People at Elections, and of the Need a Pretender had of their Votes and Interest, that they obtain'd on such Occasions several Privileges, which did very considerably diminish both the Revenue and Authority of the Prince. They exacted what Conditions they pleas'd of the King, before they wou'd own him to be their Sovereign: And before they wou'd perform the Ceremony of his Coronation, they oblig'd him to Swear, That he wou'd inviolably preserve 'em in the Possession of their Rights and Privileges; That he wou'd never attempt to put a Garrison into any of their Castles or Forts; That the Lands and Mannors which they enjoy'd, by what Means soever they had come to the Possession of 'em, shou'd not be re-united to the Crown; and at the same time they made him Sign a Paper, declaring that he consented to his own Deposition, if ever he shou'd violate his Oath by in-croaching upon their Privileges.

These *Prelates* grew so proud of their Riches, and of the number of their Vassals, that they began by degrees, to act like so many little Sovereigns. They fortify'd their Castles, and kept Garrisons in 'em: They never appear'd without a numerous Attendance of Gentlemen and Soldiers, and were still at the Head of all Factions and Intrigues. They frequently took up Arms against their Neighbours, for

1282. Differences relating to their Vassals, or about the Limits of their Estates; and even sometimes scrupl'd not to march at the Head of an Army against their Sovereign, especially when they suspected him of a Design to recover the Duties and Lands that belong'd to the Crown.

The *Lords* and *Gentlemen* fortify'd their Castles, and made 'em the Seats of their petty Empires. They treated their Vassals like menial Servants, tho' they allow'd 'em no Wages; they made 'em Till their Lands, and oftentimes put 'em in Arms to make Incursions into the Territories of their Neighbours. The *Swedish Nobility* was not then distinguish'd by the Titles of *Baron*, *Count*, or *Marquess*, or by Hereditary Names of Families: They were only known by the respective *Arms* of their Houses, and by their Fathers Name, which they bore joyntly with their own; and were noted only for their Valour, and for the numerous Train of Vassals that follow'd 'em to the War. They defended their Rights, and reveng'd the Injuries they receiv'd, by Force of Arms, and neither sought nor expected Redress from the publick Justice, because there was no Power in the Government to put the Laws in Execution. Force was the Standard of Law and Justice, and the Supream Decider of all sorts of Controversies.

Gustavus
Eriksen, i. e.
Gustavus
the Son of
Eric.

The *Burgers* of *Stockholm*, and the Inhabitants of other *Maritime Towns*, who subsisted merely by Trading, were more submissive to the King, and better affected to the Government. The *Mercants* especially were so dishearten'd by that Lawless Liberty, which expos'd 'em to the Insolency of every Potent Oppressor, that they wou'd have willingly consented to invest the Prince with a sufficient Authority to restore the Publick Quiet; and establish the Trade of the Nation in a flourishing Condition: But there were so few Cities in the Kingdom, that their Deputies had no great Interest, and were not much regarded in the *Diets*. The

The *Peasants*, on the contrary, who in this Kingdom have the peculiar Privilege to send Deputies of their own Body to the *Estates*, out of a blind Obedience to their Lords, were obstinate Assertors of the Liberties and Privileges of their Provinces. Those who liv'd in fertile Countries apply'd themselves to *Husbandry*; but in *Helsingland*, *Cuestricland*, *Angermeland*, and other Northern Provinces, they spent their time in *Hunting* Fallow-Deer, which furnish'd 'em with *Meat* for their Subsistence, and Skins for the Prince's Tribute. They were mere Savages, for the most part bred in Woods, jealous of their Customs, and having little to lose, were ready upon the least Occasion to rise up in Arms and revolt against the Government. *Idolatry* was still openly profess'd in some of their Villages, and *Christianity* prevail'd in others; but their Religion was so disfigur'd by a Mixture of their Ancient Superstitions, that they scarce retain'd more of it than the bare Name of *Christians*.

The *Peasants* were the most numerous and potent Body of the State: Some of 'em held immediately of the Crown, and sent Deputies to the *Diets*; and the rest were Vassals to the Clergy and Nobility. Tho' the Tribute they paid to the King was very easy and inconsiderable, he was oftentimes oblig'd to levy it by Force, and to send some regulated Troops to the Forrests and Mountains, for the Security of those who were appointed to collect his Duties. They seldom or never contributed their Assistance to the Preservation of the State, but in the Quality of Soldiers; and even in that Case they thought themselves oblig'd only to defend the Frontiers of their respective Provinces, and always claim'd the Privilege of chusing their own Leaders.

In all other Respects they liv'd almost without any Dependence upon the Court, and ev'n without any Union or Concord among themselves; being equally

1282. incapable of *Society* and *Submission*, and affecting rather an untractable Wildness than a generous Liberty.

If we reflect upon the Independency of the Subjects, the limited Authority of the Sovereign, and the different Interests of the several Orders that compos'd the State, 'twill not appear Strange, that the Kingdom was almost perpetually harass'd with Insurrections and Civil Wars. Most of the Kings aspir'd at a more absolute Authority, and some of 'em by the Assistance of their Friends and Creatures, endeavour'd to make themselves Masters of the Government, and to shake off their Dependence on the Senate: But the People were so far from being unconcern'd Spectators of an open Violation of the Liberties and Privileges of the Nation, that the very Shadow and least Appearance of *Arbitrary Power* occasion'd an universal Revolt, and re-united all the States against the King.

The *Bishops* were afraid of Reprizals under too powerful a Prince, who might seize upon his alienated Revenues, and perhaps confine the Clergy within the Limits of their Profession: The *Noblemen* took up Arms to defend the Privileges that made 'em in a manner Independent; and the *Peasants*, without comprehending their true Interest, fought with the utmost Vigor and Obstinacy for the Preservation of certain Customs that were useless to the Public, but agreeable to their Savage Temper. The whole Kingdom was a perpetual Scene of Seditions, Desolations, and Revolts: The Fate of the King seem'd to be in the Hands of his Subjects, and to depend on their Capricious Humour; and several Princes were driven out of the Kingdom, for attempting to make themselves *Absolute*.

The Jealousy that reign'd among the principal Families of the Kingdom, made 'em willing to retain the Title and Dignity of a *King*: But at the same time

Revolutions in Sweden.

9

Time they resolv'd to bestow that Honour only upon a Foreign Prince, that having no private Estate in the Kingdom, and being wholly destitute of Relations and Creatures, they might oblige him to content himself with as much Authority as they thought fit to allow him.

1282.

About the year 1363. *Magnus Smock*, reign'd in Sweden: he had two Sons, *Eric* and *Haquin*, by his Wife *Blanch*, Daughter to the Count of *Namur*. The Elder of these Princes being dead, the People of *Norway* bestow'd the Crown of that Kingdom upon the Younger, who by his Father's Advice had marry'd *Margaret* Daughter to *Valdemar* IV. King of *Denmark*. *Magnus* having secur'd *Norway*, and being supported by his *Danish* Alliance, wou'd not let slip so favourable an Opportunity to make himself absolute in *Sweden*, by abolishing the Senate of that Kingdom: And perhaps that Project was concerted by all the Three Kings, and design'd to be put in Execution in their respective Kingdoms, to rid themselves of that dreaded Assembly which check'd their growing Authority and controul'd all their ambitious Designs. But as soon as the *Swedes* discover'd the Intentions and Correspondence of these three Princes, they took up Arms immediately, and *Sweden* became the Theatre of a cruel and bloody War. *Valdemar*, during his Life, was very diligent in assisting his Ally; and *Haquin* sent a considerable Body of Men to re-inforce his Father's Army: But the *Swedes* alone, who were always strong enough when they fought for the Defence of their Liberty, routed the Joynt-Forces of these three Monarchs, and at last drove *Magnus* out of the Kingdom, esteeming themselves sufficiently rewarded for all the Blood they had spent in the Cause, by the Liberty they had to chuse a new Sovereign. They proceeded immediately to an Election, and the Choice fell upon Prince *Albert*, second Son to the Duke

1363.

1365.

1365.

Duke of Meckelburgh, and Nephew to the late King *Magnus*, excluding King *Haquin*, and *Henry*, *Albert's* Elder Brother, whom they hated and suspected, as persons who had always promoted the Interest of the Prince whom they had lately dethron'd.

Thus *Albert* ow'd his Advancement to the impatient Humour of the *Swedes*, which cou'd not bear the Yoke of too absolute a power. Before his Accession to the Crown, that he might promote his own Interest he seem'd to embrace that of the People; but as soon as he found himself fix'd upon the Throne, he began to follow the Maxims of his Predecessors, and study'd the most promising Methods by which he might make himself the absolute Master of his Subjects.

The Senate was the object both of his Jealousy, and Aversion; but the Fate of King *Magnus* terr'd him from attempting to abolish that powerful Body, much less cou'd he hope either to gain or over-aw those rich and potent Lords that look'd upon themselves rather as his *Tutors* than *Counsellors*. And therefore to ballance their Authority, he sent for some Princes of his Family, and several *German* Lords and Captains, whom he intrusted with the Command of the Troops and principal Forts of the Kingdom. He introduc'd some of these Strangers, into the Senate, against the fundamental Laws of the State; and under various pretexts brought into *Sweden* a considerable Number of Foreign Troops, who began to render him terrible to his own Subjects. Then he proceeded to impose exorbitant Taxes upon the People for the payment of his Army: But this politic Contrivance to establish his Authority being push'd on too far, serv'd only to hasten his Destruction; for the *Swedes* grew jealous of their Privileges, and resolv'd to shake off that rigorous Yoke which they were not accustomed to bear.

Margaret

Revolutions of Sweden.

11

Margaret the Daughter of *Valdemar* King of Denmark, and Widow of *Haquin* King of Norway, was at the same time possess'd of the Crowns of both these Kingdoms. For after the Death of the King her Husband, who did not long Survive the Defeat and **ABDICATION** of his Father King *Magnus*, the States of *Norway* intrusted her with the Regency of the Kingdom, and the Guardianship of her Son *Olaus*. And during her Administration of the Government she made so good Use of her Time, and manag'd her designs with so much Dexterity and Success, that when the young Prince dyed, the *Norwegians* found they were not at liberty to proceed to a new Choice.

1365.

She was Mistress of the Army, and of the Forts or places of Strength; so that the Principal Lords of the Kingdom, who were not gain'd to her party, durst not seem dissatisfi'd nor so much as indifferent at a Time when they cou'd not without Danger discover their true Sentiments. Thus *Margaret* was elected by the Estates, and exchange'd the Quality of a *Regent* for that of a *Sovereign Queen*, having already born the same Title as the Wife of King *Haquin*.

1374.

King *Valdemar* her Father dying the same Year, without leaving any Prince of his Blood whom the *Danes* might chuse for his Successor, she sent Deputies to the States General of the Kingdom to Solicite her Election to that Crown. *Henry* of *Mackelburgb*, the Elder brother of *Albert* King of *Sweden*, and Husband of her Elder Sister the Princess *Ingelburge*, employ'd his interest to obtain the same Dignity; and flattering himself with the advantage he had of being a Son-in-Law to the deceas'd, King thought he might easily contend with a Female Competitor: But the Queen's Agents drew such convincing Arguments from the *Merit*, and perhaps also from the *Money* of their Mistress, that she was unanimously elected

1375. elected by the whole Assembly, and proclam'd Queen of *Denmark* in the Meeting of the Estates. As soon as she receiv'd the News of her Advancement, she left *Norway*, and went immediately to *Copenhagen*, where she fixt the Seat of her Empire.

This Princess, who by some is call'd the *Semiramis of the North*, besides the usual Ambition of her Sex, was Mistress of a Dexterity in the Management of Affairs, and of a Capacity to form a long Series of coherent Projects, that are rarely observ'd in a Woman. Her Inclinations to Love were suitable to her Character and Dignity, that is, she was not really in love with any thing but Glory, or sensible of any Passion but her Ambition to extend the limits of her Empire, and advance her Authority.

She rejoyc'd in secret at the Dissatisfaction of the *Swedes*, and endeavour'd to gain some of the Leading Men of that Nation. She bestow'd Pensions and an honourable Entertainment on those that were ill treated by King *Albert*; and openly blam'd his injustice in violating the Liberty and Privileges of his Subjects. That Prince was daily laying new Impositions upon his People, without the consent either of the Estates or Senat, and had already Squeez'd considerable Sums out of the Clergy by way of Loans: But nothing render'd him more odious both to the Bishops and Nobility, than his Reuniting to the Crown the third part of those Fees or Estates to which the Clergy and Gentry claim'd a right by vertue of so long a Possession.

This was the fatal signal of an universal Revolt; the *Swedes* conspir'd unanimously against him, resolving to drive him out of the Kingdom, and to offer the Crown to Queen *Margaret*. They imagin'd that she had already so much business in *Denmark* that she wou'd content herself with almost the bare Title of *Queen of Sweden*: And tho' she shou'd endeavour

endeavour to stretch the Prerogative too far, they concluded that the *Danes* and *Norwegians* wou'd unite all their Forces to keep their common Sovereign in a dependence on the Estates and Senate of each Kingdom.

1375.

In pursuance of this Design, they secretly deputed some of the most considerable Lords of the Kingdom to offer her the Crown, and she receiv'd the Proposal with joy, as the most probable means to secure the Peace of *Denmark*. For the violent Animosity that reign'd betwixt the Subjects of both Nations, was of as ancient a date as the Foundation of the two Kingdoms; and that Antipathy, which is usually observ'd betwixt Neighbouring States, had all along been a perpetual source of War, which had oftentimes prov'd fatal to *Denmark*. And besides this prudent Princess concluded, that her new Advancement might one day furnish her with an opportunity to unite *Sweden* to *Denmark*. These considerations made her resolve to give a favourable answer to the Proposals of the Male contents: She agreed with their Deputies that the Nobility shou'd rise up in Arms, that they shou'd acquaint King *Albert* with his Deposition, that the Army and Estates shou'd publickly acknowledge her to be their Sovereign, and that after her Election she shou'd be oblig'd to send a considerable Body of Troops to support and defend 'em.

The Treaty being sign'd, the *Swedes* immediately took up arms against the King, and sent a Herald to intimate and declare that they renounc'd the Allegiance they had sworn to him. At the same time they proclaim'd *Margaret de Valdemar*, Queen of *Sweden*, and as soon as they had receiv'd the Reinforcement which they expected from that Princess, the united Armies march'd towards *West-Gotbland*, where King *Albert* was drawing his Forces together to oppose 'em. That Prince had taken all possible care

1385.

1385.



care to put himself in a posture of defence: he had rais'd a considerable Body of Troops, obtain'd the Assistance of several *German* Princes who were either his Relations or Allies, and engag'd the *Isle of Gotland* for the payment of twenty Thousand *Rose-Nobles* of the Coin of *England*, which he borrow'd of the Knights of the *Teutonic Order* to maintain the Charge of the War. But all these preparations could not divert his impending Fate: The two Armies met near *Falcopine*, and *Albert* was not only defeated, but had the Misfortune to fall into the Hands of his Enemies, with his Son Prince *Eric*, and the principal Lords of his Party.

1392.

The Princes of the House of *Meckelburgh*, and *Gerard* Count of *Holstein* endeavour'd to revive the drooping Hopes of this unfortunate Prince. They levy'd new Troops, and obtain'd considerable Succours from the *Hans-Towns* who were jealous of the Queen's Power, and dreaded the successful progress of her Arms. Thus *Sweden* was made a prey to several different and Jarring Nations, who seem'd only to agree in a Design to ruin that Kingdom; and amid'st so many Disasters, the poor Inhabitants could not distinguish their Friends from their Enemies. The War lasted almost seven Years with extraordinary Fury, and a vast expence of Blood: And the Peace that succeeded was rather an effect of the Weariness of the two contending Parties, than of any Abatement of the Rage that animated 'em. *Albert* was at last constrain'd to exchange his Crown for his Liberty, and retir'd to his Native Country; after which Queen *Margaret's* Title to the Crowns of the Three Kingdoms of the North was universally own'd and acknowledg'd.

The *Swedes* seeing themselves subject to a Princess that had no Children, and fearing that after her Death King *Albert* or the Prince his Son might re-
new

new their pretensions to the Crown, intreated her to secure the happiness of the Kingdom by an advantageous Match. This Proposal, however intended, was not at all welcome to the Queen: She was too fond of the Sovereign Power to share it with a Husband: Yet that she might not seem to slight the Petition of her new Subjects, she consented to appoint her Successor. But at the same Time she resolv'd to chuse a Prince whose tender Age might secure the quiet of her Government, and keep him from attempting to mount the Throne during her Life. In pursuance of this Resolution she sent for Prince Henry of Pomerania the Son of Wartislaw VII, and of Mary of Meckelburg, the Daughter of Henry of Meckelburg and of Ingelburge the Queen's Elder Sister. She order'd him to be call'd Eric, a Name which Twelve Kings of Sweden had already born, resolving to educate him at her Court, and to make him the Heir of the Three Northern Crowns.

The Form of Government in these Kingdoms was almost the same: All three were *Elective*, and every Nation had its *Senate*, without whose advice, or the consent of the *Estates*, the Prince cou'd not undertake any important Affair. In order to the Accomplishment of her great Design, the Queen spent some time in gaining Creatures, and securing the interest of some of the Leading Men of each Nation. And as soon as she found her Project ripe for Execution, she call'd a Meeting or *Convention* of the *Estates* of her Three Kingdoms to be held at *Calmar* in Sweden, whither Forty Deputies of each Nation repair'd to establish a Fundamental Law, for the uniting of the Three Kingdoms under one Monarch.

The Queen presented the young Duke of Pomerania to the *Convention*, and entreated 'em to confirm her Choice. She endeavour'd with a great deal

1392. deal of Eloquence to make 'em sensible of the advantages they might expect by obeying the same Sovereign; and put 'em in mind of the happy consequences of her Election, which had establish'd the public Tranquillity, and compos'd all those fatal Animosities that are wont to disturb the quiet of Neighbouring States. She represented to 'em the inviting prospect they had of making themselves Masters of all the Trade of the *Baltic* Sea, and that the *Hanse-Towns* could never afterwards enrich themselves by their Divisions: adding that the only way to perpetuate these advantages, and to make the Union solid and durable, was to unite the Three Kingdoms into one Monarchy, by a solemn and Fundamental Law.


1395. The Presence of so great a Princess, the solidity of her Arguments, the Applauses and Interest of her Creatures, either gain'd or commanded the Consent of all the Deputies. The Election of the Duke of *Pomerania* was unanimously approv'd, and the Three Kingdoms of the North were united under that Prince and his Successors, by a Fundamental Law, which was receiv'd by the Three Nations, and confirm'd by the most solemn Oaths.

This Celebrated *Union of Calmar* instead of establishing a lasting Concord betwixt the Northern Kingdoms, was the fatal occasion of those bloody Wars that kept *Sweden* and *Denmark* in a perpetual Flame for above a hundred Years. It consisted of *Three Main Articles*, which seem'd to have been fram'd on purpose to secure the liberty and Independence of each Nation. By the *First* 'twas ordain'd that these three Kingdoms which by the constitution of their Government were *Elective* shou'd afterwards be Subject to one King, who shou'd be elected by turns in each Kingdom; and that the Royal Dignity shou'd not be appropriated to any one Nation to the prejudice or Exclusion of the rest.

unless

unless the deceased Prince should leave Children or Relations, whom the *Convention* of the three *Estates* should judge worthy to succeed him. The *Second* oblig'd the Sovereign to share his Presence betwixt the three *Realms*, and to spend the Revenue of each Crown in the respective Kingdom, without exporting the Money he receiv'd, or applying it to any other use than the particular advantage and benefit of the Kingdom where 'twas levy'd. And by the *Third* and most important Article 'twas provided that each Kingdom should retain its Senate, Laws, Customs, and Privileges; that the Governors, Magistrates, Generals, Bishops, Soldiers and Garrisons should be Natives of the Kingdom where they were employ'd; and that the King should never dispose of any of these Posts to Foreigners, or to the Subjects of his other Kingdoms who should be reputed Foreigners and *Aliens* to the Government of the Countrey where they were not born.

The *Swedes* were extremely pleas'd to think that the Royal Prerogative was so effectually restrain'd by this Treaty, that the Sovereign cou'd never afterwards invade the liberties of the Subject. But they were soon convinc'd of their Error, and both saw and felt the fatal Consequences of their mistaken Policy. The Queen was too Powerful and Ambitious to content her self with so limited an Authority. She was scarce settl'd upon the Throne of *Sweden*; when she began to extend her Power, and endeavour'd with an extraordinary Application to make her self the Absolute Mistress of the Kingdom. She seiz'd on all the Principal Forts, which she cunningly got out of the Hands of the Gentry by proposing some tempting Exchange that might enrich their Families, but lessen their Power and augment their Dependance on the Court. She bestow'd most of the Vacant Govern-
C
ments

1395.  ments on *Danish* Lords, against the Proviso expressly mention'd in the Treaty of *Calmar*, and by degrees remov'd the *Swedish* Nobility from all the considerable Places of Honour and Trust in the Kingdom. *Abraham Broderfon* a young *Swedish* Lord, who had a very graceful Mien and was admirably well shap'd had the peculiar honour of her Favor: She gave him the Government of *Haland* and made him her only Confident. But her extraordinary kindness to a Man whose *Handfomeness* was his only Merit, instead of obliging the rest of his Countrymen, furnish'd the disaffected party with a new pretext to censure her Behaviour, and murmur against the Government. At last they adventur'd to express their dissatisfaction to the Queen her self: They went in a Body to attend her, and laid before her the Titles by which they held their Priviledges, and a Copy of the Treaty of *Calmar*, the Violation of which gaul'd 'em extreamly. But that cunning and imperious Princess was too well acquainted with her own Power to dread the Effects of their Impotent Rage: and instead of returning a Satisfactory Answer to their Address, she told 'em in a slighting and disdainful Manner, That she wou'd advise 'em to keep their *Charters and Titles as carefully as she intended to keep the Forts of the Kingdom*. She govern'd ever afterwards with an absolute Power, and endeavour'd to secure and confirm her Authority by keeping the Nobility at a distance from the management of State-Affairs, and empoverishing the Common People, that they might not be able to carry on a design against the Government.

But since these Politic cautions were not sufficient to restrain a Nation that had been accustom'd to a Boundless Liberty, and was always ready to revolt upon the least Provocation; She made it her business to gain Creatures and to form a Party in the Kingdom that might be able to maintain her Authority

authority and baffle all the Attempts of her Enemies. For the more effectual Prosecution of that design she cast her Eyes upon the *Clergy*, who were very potent both by reason of their vast Riches and the great Number of their Vassals: Nor cou'd she have taken a better way to curb the fury of a grumbling and *Superstitious People* who thought themselves oblig'd to be govern'd by the Maxims of their *Spiritual Guides*. There was not a Church in *Sweden* that did not receive some conspicuous Marks of her Bounty: She augmented the Power and confirm'd all the Privileges of the Bishops, and afterwards admitted 'em to a share in the Government, that their own Interest and the Preservation of their Grandeur might oblige 'em to maintain the Authority of the Crown.

The Bishops gain'd by such high and distinguishing Favors, devoted themselves to the Interest of the Court; and the inferior Clergy follow'd their Example, both by reason of their dependence upon their Superiors, and because the Favor of the Court, and the Queen's Recommendation to the Chapters were the most effectual means to obtain a Bishoprick. The Lords and Gentlemen, who were already jealous of the Riches and Power of the Clergy, cou'd not without Grief and Indignation behold this new Addition to their Authority; but they were forc'd to content themselves with repining in secret during the life of the Queen. For that wise and powerful Princess entertain'd Private Spies among the Disaffected Party; and by that means was acquainted with all their Resolutions, and enabl'd to break all the Measures they cou'd take to shake off the Yoke she had impos'd upon 'em.

After her Death, King *Eric* succeeded in the Three Kingdoms, but did neither inherit her Power nor her Prudence. He retir'd to *Denmark*, and sent Governors to *Sweden* who treated the People of that Kingdom rather as *disarm'd Enemies*, than as free

1395. *Subjects.* The Nation was over-loaded with Taxes, and fill'd with Soldiers, who domineer'd over the wretched Inhabitants, and not only robb'd and plunder'd 'em without Controul, but added scorn and Insolency to their unmanly Barbarity. The Officers conniv'd at these Disorders, and rather encourag'd than check'd the Offenders. From whence we may reasonably conclude that either they receiv'd a share of the Booty, or had secret Orders to tolerate these Abuses. The Complaints of the Oppress'd did not reach the Ears of the Prince, or were rejected with Disdain: Nor could they hope to see an End, or so much as an Alleviation of their misery without an entire Alteration of their Government. And therefore they resolv'd in so desperate a case to have recourse to the most violent remedies, and to free themselves from a Power that seem'd unjust at its first Establishment, and was now become Tyrannical and insupportable.

1434. *Engelbrecht*, a Gentleman of the Province of *Dalecarlia*, was the first that adventur'd to appear in Arms against the Public Oppressors of his Countrey. He rous'd the Courage of the Neighboring Peasants and engag'd 'em in the same design. They were a rude and simple People, Lovers of their Prince and Countrey, but jealous of their Privileges, and Enemies to Slavery and Oppression. He march'd at the head of his Tumultuary Forces, and cut to pieces some *Danish* Troops that endeavor'd to oppose his Progress. His Army was quickly reinforc'd by a multitude of Peasants whom the News of his success drew from the Neighboring Provinces: and not long after he was join'd by the Noblemen of *Wismania* and *Nericia*. He made himself master of *Uppland*; and his Presence and Fame engag'd several other Provinces in the Revolt. He abrogated the Taxes that were impos'd by King *Eric*, and raz'd all the New Forts which that Prince or his Predecessors

cessors

1434.

cessors had built to keep the People in subjection to their Authority. The Senators who still acknowledg'd King *Eric* assembl'd at *Wadestein* to consult about the most proper Methods to put a stop to these Disturbances. But *Engelbrecht* hearing of their Design was resolv'd either to persuade or fright 'em into a Sense of their Duty. He march'd with all possible haste to the place appointed for their meeting, at the Head of a Thousand Peasants, and entering compleatly arm'd into the Assembly, represented to 'em the Injustice and Cruelty of the *Danish* Government, and swore he wou'd stab the first Man that shou'd venture to oppose the Preservation of his Countrey. The pathetic violence of his Discourse and the boldness of his Words and Actions, struck such a Terror into the Minds of the Senators, that they publicly renounc'd the Allegiance and Fealty they had sworn to King *Eric*.

Charles Canutson Great *Marechal* of Sweden and Governor of *Finland* comply'd with the Resolutions of the Senate. He was descended from the Illustrious Family of *Bonde*, which reckons several Kings of Sweden among its Ancestors. He saw with Joy that his Countrey was like to be speedily freed from the *Danish* Yoke, but he was vex'd to think that an ordinary Gentleman, such as *Engelbrecht*, shou'd carry away all the Glory of so noble an Attempt, and was even afraid lest the Peasants in the Heat of their Affection to their Deliverer, shou'd dispose of a Kingdom in his favor which they had almost entirely conquer'd under his Conduct. He went to that Gentleman's Army and sided with his Party on purpose that he might make himself the Head and Master of 'em: nor was he disappointed of his Hope, for he quickly obtain'd the Authority which was due to his Birth and Dignity.

He took advantage of the misunderstanding that was betwixt King *Eric* and the *Danes*. This Monarch seeing himself Master of Three Great Kingdoms,

1434.

doms fancy'd himself above the Laws and Privileges of those Nations. He treated the *Danes* and *Norwegians* little better than the *Swedes*, and assum'd an arbitrary Power over a People who were willing to be his Subjects but cou'd not endure to be us'd like Slaves.

1439.

The Tyrannical Disposition of this Prince made him so odious to his Subjects, that all the three Kingdoms conspir'd against him; and the Revolt was so general; that there were none left to support him. The *Danes* drove him out of the Kingdom, and conferr'd the Crown upon his Nephew, *Christopber* of *Bavaria*, who immediately sent to the Estates of *Norway* and *Sweden*, requiring 'em to confirm his Election in pursuance of the *Treaty of Calmar*. The *Norwegians* acknowledg'd him as their Sovereign; but the *Great Marechal* of *Sweden* and the chief Noblemen of that Kingdom, endeavour'd to oppose his Advancement. They represented to the Estates that the Election of that Prince ought to be rejected, because the *Danes* had chosen him without the knowledge and Consent of their Allies: But the Bishops and Clergy made so strong an Interest for him, that his Election was confirm'd by the Plurality of Voices.

Sweden receiv'd no benefit by the Change of her Master. He follow'd the Maxims of his Predecessors; *Denmark* was his Favorite Kingdom, and he left no means unattempted to bring *Sweden* under the Dominion of that Crown; But Death prevented the Execution of his designs. He was succeeded by *Christiern I.* Count of *Oldenburg*, from whom the present King of *Denmark* is descended. The *Danes* advanc'd him to the Throne without asking or expecting the Approbation of the *Swedes* and *Norwegians*. Yet in imitation of his Predecessor he pretended that by vertue of his Election in *Denmark* he had a just Title to the Crowns of *Sweden* and *Norway*;

but

but his Pretensions to the former were thwarted by the *Great Mareſchal Canuſon*, who oppos'd his pretended right with Great Courage and Reſolution.

1439.

That Lord had obſerv'd ever ſince *Engelbrecht's* Revolt, that the *Swedes* were weary of being under the Dominion of a Foreign Power: And from that very time he began ſecretly to aſpire to the Crown, and to draw a Scheme of his future Advancement. His Office made him Maſter of the Forces and Militia of the Kingdom; he govern'd a large province, and was the richeſt Lord in *Sweden*. The Eſtates being aſſembled at *Stockholm*, the *Great Mareſchal* came thither at the Head of ſo numerous a Company of *Finlandiſh* Lords and Gentlemen, that 'twas generally concluded he wou'd be Maſter of the Election. He repreſented to the Aſſembly that the Treaty of *Calmar* was extreamly prejudicial to the whole Kingdom; that Queen *Margaret* and the Kings her Succeſſors had always made uſe of that pernicious Law as a Means and pretext to bring *Sweden* under Subjection to the Crown of *Denmark*; that the *Danes* treated 'em rather like *Slaves* than *Allies*, aſſuming a Power to impoſe a Sovereign upon 'em, without calling 'em to his Election; and that they cou'd only blame themſelves for ſo unworthy a Treatment, if they did not abrogate and diſannul a Treaty that was ſo diſhonourable to the Nation.

This Diſcourſe rais'd the languid Courage of the *Swedes*, and awaken'd their ancient Aversion againſt the *Daniſh* Government. It put 'em in Mind of the Tyranny of King *Eric*; and every Man began to accuſe himſelf of Weakneſs and ſtupidity for ſubmitting to the Prince of *Bavaria*. The Election of the Count of *Oldenburgh* was rejected with a great deal of Vehemency; and the Royal Dignity was conſerr'd upon the *Great Mareſchal* as a Recompenſe for the Zeal he had always profeſs'd for the Intereſt

1448.

1448. of his Country. At the same time he manag'd the *Estates of Norway* so dexterously, and had so great an Influence over 'em, that he was chosen Sovereign of that Kingdom, whither he went, and was Crown'd at *Druntblin*, and intrusted the Government of the State to two of the Principal Lords of the Country.

The *Swedish* Bishops had been devoted to the Crown of *Denmark*, ever since Queen *Margaret* prefer'd them before the Nobility in the Government of the Kingdom. They only gave their Consent to the Election of the *Great Mareſchal*, because they cou'd not oppose it; and were vex'd to behold the Increase of his power and Authority. He was not ignorant of their Spie and Aversion against him, and that they were only dissatisfied because he did not allow 'em a share in the Government. If he had consider'd their temporal Authority, he would have soon perceiv'd that it was his true Interest to gain 'em: But he thought himself so well settl'd upon the Throne, that 'twas beyond the power of his most potent Adversaries to disturb the Quiet of his Reign. He resolv'd to humble those lofty Prelates, and concluded that the most effectual Way to make 'em harmless and submissive to the Government, was to deprive 'em of part of those vast Riches, which serv'd only to make 'em terrible to their Sovereign. He obtain'd an Order of the Senate to make an Exact Inquiry into all the Rights of the Crown, and the public Revenues which the Clergy had usurp'd; and ordain'd that no person for the future shou'd erect any new *Foundations*, under pretext that the Superstition of the People wou'd give the Clergy an Opportunity by Degrees to make themselves Masters of all the Lands in the Kingdom.

The Bishops and other Ecclesiasticks were extreamly incens'd at this *Declaration*. They affirm'd publickly that the King was a *Heretick*, and endeavour'd to perswade the people that this Invasion of their *temporal*

poral Estates was only made use of as a Cloak to cover more pernicious Designs, and that the Blow was aim'd at Religion it self. To prevent the pretended Consequences of a Regulation that touch'd 'em in the most sensible part, they resolv'd to take up Arms against the King, and engag'd their Relations, Vassals, and Creatures in the Conspiracy. To favour their design'd Revolt, *John de Salstat* Arch-bishop of *Upsal*, of the Illustrious Family of *Bielke*, dispatch'd a Gentleman with secret Instructions to *Christiern I.* King of *Denmark*, to invite him to *Sweden*, in order to the Re-establishment of the Treaty of *Calmar*. And least that Prince shou'd be discourag'd by the seeming difficulty of the Attempt, he assur'd him that all the Bishops of the Kingdom wou'd second his Pretensions, and that they were ready to receive him as their Sovereign into all their Cities and Forts.

Christiern was then in *Norway*, whither he went upon alike Invitation from a Party that revolted against King *Canuton*: But notwithstanding the War in which he was engag'd in that Kingdom, he sent a powerful Army to support the Intended Rebellion of the *Swedish* Clergy. As soon as Archbishop *Salstat* receiv'd advice of the *Danes* appearing on the Frontiers, he call'd a General Assembly of the Clergy, to be held at *Upsal*, where he excommunicated the King in a solemn Mass which he said on that occasion. After the Office was ended he laid his Ecclesiastical Ornaments and Habits upon the Altar, swearing that he wou'd never put 'em on again till he had driven that Prince out of the Kingdom. Then he took a Cuirass and Sword, and went out of the Church in that warlike Equipage at the head of his Vassals to fight against his Sovereign. The rest of the Bishops follow'd his Example, and took up Arms for the preservation of their Privileges. They joyn'd openly with the *Danes*, and long'd to see their Country under the Dominion of Foreign Princes who during their necessary

1452. necessary absence, lest the Clergy in possession of all the marks of Sovereignty, and even of a large share of the Royal Authority. They scrupl'd not to fight against the King at the Head of the *Danes*, and the whole Kingdom was distracted with a dreadful Complication of Civil and Foreign Wars.

Yet that Prince might have easily disperst the Clouds that seem'd to threaten him with inevitable Ruin, and might have triumph'd over the joint Forces of his Foreign and Domestic Enemies, if he cou'd have contented himself with the Regal Dignity and the Revenues that were annex'd to the Crown. But he began too soon to domineer over his new Subjects, and not only impos'd unusual Taxes upon the People, but invaded the Privileges of the Nobility, without reflecting on the fatal consequences of disobliging those to whom he ow'd his Crown and Authority. By these violent proceedings he lost several of his best Friends, and the most considerable Lords of the Kingdom. The Arch-Bishop, taking advantage of this Misunderstanding, routed the King's Army which was already weaken'd by the Desertion of the Nobility, and pursu'd him to *Stockholm* whither he retir'd after the Loss of the Battle. That unfortunate Prince perceiving that the Nobility had forsaken him, and that he had neither Forces nor provisions to undergo a Siege, was so afraid of falling into the Hands of his Enemies that he left the Kingdom, and retir'd to *Danish* with a Design to raise Forces in *Prussia* and *Germany*, and to appear once again in *Sweden* at the Head of an Army.

1457. In the mean Time the Arch-Bishop was receiv'd into *Stockholm*, where he caus'd *Christiern I.* to be proclam'd King of *Sweden*. That Prince was still in *Norway*, but as soon as he had settl'd his Affairs there, he march'd immediately to *Sweden*, and was receiv'd as Sovereign of the Kingdom. The Arch-bishop flatter'd himself with the Expectation of Governing the Kingdom,

Kingdom, and imagin'd that *Christiern* wou'd in imitation of his Predecessors content himself with the Title of King ; but that Prince declar'd openly that he was resolv'd to keep the power in his own Hands, and did not think fit to gratify the Ambition of his Benefactor. The haughty Prelate finding himself so unexpectedly slighted, and (as he thought) ungratefully treated, express'd his Dissatisfaction in Terms that were not much different from a positive Menace. But *Christiern* knowing him to be a Person of a turbulent and daring Temper was so far from complying with his Humor, or endeavouring to appease his Passion, that he order'd him to be apprehended, and sent him under a strong Guard to *Denmark*. *Catil* Bishop of *Lincopine*, the Arch-bishop's Nephew, took up Arms immediately to revenge the Affront that was put upon his Uncle, and having in a little time rais'd a considerable Body of Soldiers, had the good fortune to obtain several Victories over that Prince's Army. *Christiern* perceiving that his Army was not strong enough to keep the Field, in opposition to that Prelate, disperst his Forces into the Places that were in his Possession, and return'd to *Denmark* to Levy a sufficient Number of Men to recruit and augment his Army.

Bishop *Catil* remain'd Master of the Government during the War, which lasted almost seven Years. He offer'd several times to receive the King of *Denmark* into the Kingdom, if he wou'd set the Arch-bishop at liberty : But that Monarch was too proud to submit to a forc'd compliance, and scorn'd to own the Reduction of *Sweden* to any but himself. *Clauson's* Friends perceiving that the Breach grew still wider, took advantage of so favourable a Juncture, and prevail'd with *Catil* to consent to the King's Restoration. As soon as that Prince receiv'd the welcome News he return'd to *Sweden*, and re-mounted the Throne after he had liv'd seven Years in Exile ;
but

1464.

but he saw himself quickly reduc'd to his former Condition. This unexpected Revolution open'd the King of *Denmark's* Eyes, and convinc'd him of the Error he had committed in disobliging the Clergy : He endeavor'd to regain their Favor by setting the Arch-bishop at liberty, and that Prelate assur'd him that he wou'd raise a new Insurrection against King *Canutson*. *Christiern* was engag'd in a War with the Count of *Holstein* who had invaded *Jutland*, so that he cou'd not at present spare any Soldiers : but he furnish'd the Arch-bishop with a considerable sum to levy Forces in *Sweden*, and order'd a Company of his Guards to wait upon him, that he might enter the Kingdom with an honourable attendance.

The Arch-bishop was met and receiv'd on the Frontiers by Bishop *Catin* and all his Followers. He blam'd 'em for contributing to King *Canutson's* Restoration ; and 'twas resolv'd by all that were present to Dethrone him a second time. The War broke forth again with more fury than ever ; and not long after there was a bloody Battle fought on the Lake *Meler* which was then frozen, where the King was so entirely defeated that he had not Men enough left to secure his Retreat, so that he was forc'd to put himself into the Hands of his Enemies. The Arch-bishop made him renounce the Title of King and afterwards confin'd him to a Castle in *Finland*, which he allow'd him for his Subsistence.

This Prelat was not so fond of King *Christiern* as before, nor so forward to acknowledge him as King of *Sweden*. His Imprisonment had given him a clearer view of the Policy and Temper of that Prince ; and he had found by experience that 'tis sometimes dangerous for a Subject to put too great obligations on his Sovereign. He resolv'd to enjoy the Fruit of his Victory, and to share the Supreme

Autho-

Authority with the principal Lords of his Party. Thus *Sweden* had the Misfortune to be made the Scene of a confus'd and fatal *Anarchy*, and to groan under the Tyrannical Dominion of as many Sovereigns as there were Lords that cou'd raise any Forces, or were Masters of a Castle or Fort. Every private Quarrel was the occasion of a War, and the contending Parties made use of the Names of King *Canutson* or King *Christiern*, to cover their rising up in Arms with a Pretence of Authority, tho' at the bottom they did not own the Right or Interest of either of these Princes. This Scene of Disorder lasted four Years, during which Time the Kingdom was perpetually distracted with intestine Wars; and the people were so weary of a liberty that expos'd 'em to so many and such terrible Miseries that they demanded the Restauration of King *Canutson* with extraordinary Eagerness and Importunity, preferring an easy *Subjection* to a wild and troublesome *Freedom*.

1457.

1468.

Thus after so many Revolutions that Prince had the good Fortune to mount the Throne a third Time. He was solemnly invested with the Title and Quality of a King, and was put in possession of the Capital City; but the Bishops and Lords retain'd their Authority over the Provinces. He did not long survive this happy turn of his Fortune, and was so sensible at his Death of the Difficulties with which the Sovereign of an elective State must resolve to encounter, that he advis'd his Nephew *Steno Sture* whom he appointed to succeed him, to content himself with the Quality of *Administrator* of *Sweden*, for fear of provoking the Jealousy of the Lords by assuming a more elevated Title. The Estates, after his Death, approv'd the choice he had made, and the advice he had given his Successor. The Bishops and the Nobility fearing that if he were invested with the Royal Dignity, he wou'd re-demand the Tributes, Revenues,

1470.

1470.

Revenues, and Forts which they had seiz'd, confirm'd the Title of *Administrator*, and in that Quality intrusted him with the Command of the Army, and the Government of the State.

The Dignity of *Administrator* was properly a Commission during the *Inter-Rexnum* or Vacancy of the Throne, which might be revok'd and made void by the *Estates*. He was by his Office the General of the Kingdom, and had a more immediate Authority over the Soldiers and Officers, who took an Oath of Fidelity to him. The Arch-Bishop of *Upsal*, as Chief Senator, which was a Dignity annex'd to his Office, had the Precedency in publick Solemnities and on Days of Ceremony; but in Time of War the Sovereign Power was lodg'd in the Person of the *Administrator*, and he enjoy'd all the Authority of a King, tho' he durst not assume the Title. The *Swedes* were so afraid of absolute Power, that they dreaded the very Name of a King, and imagin'd that they enjoy'd a greater Liberty under an *Administrator*, tho' his Authority was not Inferiorto that of a King, and might be advanc'd as high as he had the Courage and Dexterity to raise it.

Christiern the First endeavour'd sometimes by *Treaties* and sometimes by *Force* to abolish that Dignity, and re-establish the *Union of Calmar*. The *Bishops* were still devoted to his Interest, and declar'd in his Favour as often as they cou'd discover their Inclinations without Danger. During the space of Four and Forty Years, that Monarch and King *John* the Second his Son, govern'd *Sweden* by Turns with the *Administrator Steno*, and *Suanto Stura*: For it happen'd not unfrequently that the King of *Denmark* and the *Administrator* were at the same Time Masters of several Provinces according as the Faction of the *Bishops*, or the Party of the Nobility prevail'd. In the mean time neither of 'em cou'd make themselves Absolute in a Kingdom where the Sovereigns were often-

Revolutions of Sweden.

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oftentimes oblig'd to part with some Branch of their Prerogative, to purchase the Obedience of their Subjects. 1470.

Such was the State of *Sweden*, when it began to be made the Theatre of the most memorable Revolutions that ever happen'd in the North, which may be justly reckon'd the Foundations of the *Swedish* Monarchy, and of the Grandeur of that Family which at present possesses the Throne.

After the Death of *Swanto Sture* the last Administrator of *Sweden*, the Factions and Parties, which by his Power and Policy he had broken and dispers'd, began to break forth with fresh Violence. He ow'd his Advancement to his own Merit, and to the need the Kingdom had of his Protection: For he was chosen Administrator at a time when that Dignity seem'd to be instituted on purpose to oppose the Attempts of the *Danes*. His Victories over the *Muscovites* rais'd his Glory and Reputation, and made his Memory Illustrious.

His Power was almost equal to the Authority of the most Absolute Monarchs. He was Fortunate in War, and respected in Peace. He oblig'd *John II.* King of *Denmark*, by the Terror of his Arms, to make a Truce with *Sweden*; and establish'd Peace and Plenty among his People. The Nobility and Peasants look'd upon him as the Protector of the Publick Liberty; and his Merit procur'd him the Friendship of some of the Bishops, whom he had persuaded to disengage themselves from the Danish Faction.

He never undertook any important Affair, without imparting his Designs to *James Ulfonis* Archbishop of *Upsal*; and *Heming Gadde* Bishop of *Lincopine*: For tho' those Prelates were Enemies to his Dignity, they cou'd not forbear loving and esteeming his Person. He shew'd an extraordinary Respect to the Senate, and affected so little Superiority over the

Charles XI.
King of
Sweden, of
the Pala-
tine Branch
of Deux-
ponts is the
Grand-son
of Cath-
rine de
Vasa, the
Daughter of
Charles of
Sudermania, and
Wife of *Ca-*
simir Count
Palatine of
the Rhine.

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the Noble men, that he seem'd only to excel 'em in *Merit*, tho' he was willing that People shou'd know that this was rather an Effect of his *Moderation*, than of *Weakness* and *Meanness* of Spirit. He kept always a considerable Body of *Standing Forces*, that his Enemies might never find an Opportunity to Surprize him, before he was prepar'd to receive 'em. His Court and Household were compos'd of the Officers of his Army; he maintain'd 'em with his own Revenues in time of Peace, and made 'em his Ministers and Favorites. These prudent Maxims which he observ'd in the Management of all his Affairs, made him the Terror of the *Danes*, and their Faction, who durst never engage in any Attempt against *Sweden*, during his Government.

After his Death, the Senate call'd a Meeting, or *Convention of the Estates* at *Arboga*, to proceed to the Choice of a Successor. The Bishops, led by the Consideration of their private Interest, endeavour'd to support the Claim of the Kings of *Denmark*, under whose Reign they had always the largest Share in the Government, and left no Means unattempted to revive the Union of *Calmar*. They represented to the Estates, that Plenty and a flourishing Trade, were the happy Effects of the Observance of that Treaty in *Norway*; that this was the only Way to change the present Truce with *Denmark* to a solid Peace, which cou'd not but be extreamly Advantageous to *Sweden*; and that on the contrary, the Election of an *Administrator* wou'd make the Kingdom the Seat of a bloody and pernicious War, so long as there were any Kings in *Denmark* able to maintain the Justice of their Pretensions to the Crown of *Sweden*.

But these Arguments were not much regarded by the rest of the Assembly, who were convinc'd that these designing Prelates wou'd, for their own Interest, bring the Nation under a Yoak that was Grievous

Grievous and Insupportable to all the other Estates of the Kingdom. The greatest part of the Deputies declar'd aloud, That they wou'd have an *Administrator*, and the Bishops were forc'd to comply with the prevailing Opinion. The Archbishop of *Upsal* was the first that gave his Vote, and declar'd in Favour of the Senator *Eric Trolle*, who was a prudent and deserving Person; and besides recommended by his Age, Birth, Riches, and Alliance to the late *Administrator*. The Archbishop, to prevent any Opposition that might be made against that Senator's Advancement, assur'd the Friends and Relations of the late *Administrator*, that 'twas only the Respect he had for the Memory of that Great Man, which made him name *Trolle* for his Successor; adding, That by this means *Swanto's* Son, who by reason of his Youth, cou'd not be suppos'd to be yet Master of so much Skill and Experience as was requir'd for the Discharge of so great a Trust, wou'd have an Excellent Opportunity to fit himself for the Management of Affairs, and to learn the Art of War under the Inspection of his Kinsman, who by reason of his old Age, cou'd not keep him long from the Possession of his Father's Dignity.

But this was only a specious Pretence to cover his hidden Designs. He had resum'd the old Maxims of the Clergy after the Death of *Swanto*, or rather began now to discover those Inclinations which he durst not own under the Reign of that wise and powerful Prince. *Eric Trolle* was his intimate Friend, and he was not ignorant of his secret Affection and Dependence on the King of *Denmark*, by reason of a considerable Estate which he had in that Kingdom. 'Tis true, that Lord was a very Wise and Judicious Person, but he had neither Courage nor Resolution,

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1504. and both his Age and Inclination made him Incapable of engaging in a War with *Denmark*.

Besides the Archbishop concluded, That the Fear of losing his Estate in *Denmark*; and the sure Prospect of a considerable Recompence, wou'd have so great an Influence over him, that he wou'd be easily perswaded to accept of this Dignity by way of Trust, and afterwards make use of the Power it gave him, to make the King of *Denmark* Master of the Kingdom.

But all these Politick Contrivances were frustrated, by the unconquerable Aversion with which the *Swedes* were possess'd against all that were suspected to favour the *Danish* Interest. The Lay-Senators, the Nobility, the Deputies of the Provinces, and Consuls of *Stockholm*, agreed unanimously to exclude *Eric Trolle*, and at the same time declar'd for the young Prince *Steno*. The Bishops and their Faction persisted obstinately in the Choice of *Trolle*; and the Heat of the Two contending Parties began to occasion a terrible Disorder in the Assembly. But the Noble-men and Deputies maintain'd the Interest of Prince *Steno* with so much Zeal and Vigor, that the Bishops finding they cou'd not safely oppose his Advancement any longer, submitted to the plurality of Voices, and even seem'd to approve what they cou'd not prevent. Thus the young Prince was at last invested with a Dignity which he ow'd to the Merit and Memory of his Father.

Not long after the Disaffected Party began to raise new Disturbances, and to dispute the Validity of the Election, pretending that it was carry'd on by indirect Methods, and that the Electors were either byass'd or over-aw'd. 'Tis hard to divine what might have been the Event of a Contest about so considerable a Prize as the *Supreme Power*: But 'tis probable

bable the Animosity of the two Contending Factions might at last have occasion'd a *Civil War*, especially in an *Elective Kingdom*, where People are generally so unwilling to acknowledge a Man for their *Sovereign*, whom they us'd to consider as their *Equal*; if the Difference had not been compos'd by the Mediation of the Common Friends of both Parties.

By the Articles of this Agreement, the young *Administrator* was oblig'd to consent, that the *Archbishop* shou'd resign his *Benefice* and *Dignity* to *Eric Trolle's* Son. 'Twas hop'd that the *Son's* Advancement wou'd soften the *Father's* Anger, and make him bear his Disappointment with less Impatience: And this was reckon'd the surest Expedient to establish a good Understanding betwixt the two Families, and to preserve the Peace of the Nation.

But notwithstanding all these pretended Advantages, the Promotion of young *Trolle* was oppos'd by the greatest part of the Nobility and Gentry, who look'd upon this Agreement as a Condescension beneath their Courage, and injurious to the Reputation of their Party. They assur'd the *Administrator*, that they were able to maintain his Right with their Swords in the Field, against the Bishops and the *Danish* Faction: And some of 'em who penetrated deeper into the Intrigues of State, and were better acquainted with the Art of Government, told him in private, That the Fate of his Predecessors shou'd deter him from conferring the principal Dignity of the Church upon a Person that was already possess'd of the highest Advantages both of Birth and Fortune: That since the fatal *Treaty of Calmar*, the *Archbishops* had been the Authors and Fomenters of all the intestine Wars that had harass'd

1513. the Kingdom, under the Reign and Administration of his Predecessors: That young *Trolle* was reputed a turbulent and daring Person: That those who consider'd the Zeal with which the Clergy and *Danish* Faction solicited his Preferment, cou'd not but suspect his Fidelity to the present Government: And that 'twas absolutely inconsistent with the most obvious Rules of Prudence, to advance a Man that was in a manner oblig'd both by Interest and Natural Affection, to hate the Person who was the only Obstacle of the Grandeur of his Family.

These were the principal Arguments with which these Grave Politicians endeavour'd to convince the Administrator of the Dangerous Consequences of the propos'd Agreement: But in this, as well as in most other cases, it appear'd that the Force of *Reason* is not able to curb the unbridl'd Heat of *Youth*. The young Prince wanted Experience, and was unwilling to be govern'd by that of others: He was dazzl'd with the Splendor of his new Dignity, and cou'd not think himself secur'd in the Possession of his beloved Grandeur, so long as his Title was controverted by so powerful a Rival. His mind was so taken up with the Pleasures of a *present Enjoyment*, that he was not at leisure to think of *future Dangers*; and perhaps he was so deluded by the seeming Generosity of the Action, that he was incapable of foreseeing the Hazard to which it expos'd him. But whatever were the Inducements that betray'd him into this Error, 'tis certain that the Archbishop resign'd with his Consent, and that *Trolle* was elected by the Chapter upon his Recommendation. He wrote to Pope *Leo X.* in his Favour, and remitted a considerable Sum of Money to the new Prelate, who was then at *Rome*, that

that he might be able to appear in an Equipage suitable to his Dignity, and to the Honor and Reputation of the Kingdom. 1514.

The old Archbishop sent a secret Message to his Successor, by one of his Confidants, with private Orders to pass by the Court of *Denmark*, with which the Swedish Clergy kept an uninterrupted Correspondence. The Election of the *Administrator*, and the Advancement of *Trolle* to the Archbishoprick of *Upsal*, were News of too great Importance to the King of *Denmark*, not to be imparted to him with all possible haste. King *John* had not long before left the Crown to his Son *Christiern II.* whose Temper was a sufficient Indication of his future Misfortunes. He was naturally Sore, Fierce, and untractable; his Courage proceeded rather from Transports of Fury, than from a magnanimous Desire of Glory; and he seem'd only to make War, that he might feed his Eyes with the Bloody Horrors of Death. His Birth and the Choice of the *Danes*, had put him in Possession of two Crowns; but he cou'd not think himself Happy in a Kingdom, where the Sovereign Power was restrain'd by the Laws, and by the Authority of the Senate. On the contrary, he look'd upon *Sweden* as a Country, where by the Success of his Arms, and Right of Conquest, he might one day have the Pleasure to Rule with a boundless and unbridl'd Power.

He waited with an extream Impatience, till the Truce which his Father made with the late Administrator shou'd expire, that he might put his Designs against that Kingdom in Execution. The Advancement of *Trolle*, who was descended of a Family, and engag'd in a Party, that were always ready to promote the Interests of *Denmark*, help'd

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1515. him to bear the mortifying News of the Election of a new *Administrator*: And he imagin'd, that by the Assistance of the *Swedish* Clergy, he might obtain an easie Victory over a Prince whose Authority was not yet firmly establish'd. He wrote with his own hand to that young Prelate, to congratulate his late Advancement, and sent him a considerable Sum of Money as a Token of his Friendship.

Trolle was consecrated at *Rome*, and receiv'd the *Pallium* from Pope *Leo X.* In his return to *Sweden*, he pass'd by *Lubeck*, which at that time was the principal and most potent City of all the *Hanse-Towns*, and had engros'd the whole Trade of the Northern Kingdoms. There he found a Gentleman whom King *Christiern* had sent to engage him in his Party. The *Danish* Minister, who was acquainted with his Master's most secret Designs, after he had deliver'd his Credentials, told the Archbishop in the King's Name, that His Majesty could not forbear taking this occasion to repeat the Assurances of his Friendship, and that he hop'd to see the *Union of Calmar* reviv'd by his Assistance, and by the Interest and Power to which the Dignity of his Office gave him so just a Title.

Trolle was not ignorant of the Interest and Inclination of his Family; and both his Father and the old Archbishop had taken care to engage him in their Faction. He told the Gentleman that he was fully perswaded of the Justice of his Master's Pretensions to the Crown of *Sweden*; and pray'd him to assure that Prince, in his Name, that he was very sensible of the Obligations which the Consideration both of his Office and Family laid upon him, to promote the *Danish* Interest; and that as

soon

soon as he had taken Possession of his Archbishoprick, he would endeavour to give His Majesty the most convincing Marks of his Zeal and Affection to his Service.

He had afterwards several private Conferences with King *Christiern's* Agent, during his abode at *Lubeck*. The *Dave* finding him to be of a haughty and imperious Temper, and extremely proud of his new Dignity, and of the Grandeur of his Family, resolv'd to attack him on the weak side, and to make him an Enemy to the *Administrator*, as well as a Friend to the King of *Denmark*. He insinuated with a great deal of Art, that he was oblig'd, in Justice to himself, and to the Honor of his Family, to resent the Affront that was put upon his Father; and added, That he cou'd never believe that a Person of his Merit wou'd tamely bear the Arrogancy of an Insolent Youth.

He represented to him afterwards, That the Election of an *Administrator* was a late Invention of the Nobility to elude the Treaty of *Calmar*. That by this means the Kings of *Denmark* were depriv'd of their undoubted Right to the Crown of *Sweden*; and the Prelates of that Kingdom excluded from the Share which those Princes allow'd 'em in the Government. Then finding that his Discourse had made a considerable Impression on the Archbishop's Mind, he added, as it were to comfort him after such Melancholy Reflexions, That in all probability the young Administrator wou'd not continue long in the Possession of his Dignity; That the King his Master was resolv'd to insist upon the Execution of the Treaty of *Calmar*; That his Claim wou'd be asserted by *Charles* and *Ferdinand* of *Austria*, whose Sister he had lately marry'd, by the Dukes of *Saxony* his Uncles, and the Marquess

1515. of *Brandenburg* his Brother-in-law; That he was at Peace with all the *Hanse-Towns*; That the City of *Lubeck*, which formerly pretended to preserve an Equality betwixt the *Northern Crowns*, was now in a Condition to assist *Sweden*; That the Republick was so weaken'd by the late War, in which it was engag'd for the space of ten Years against the King of *Denmark*, that the Regency were wholly taken up with contriving Expedients to re-establish their Trade, and wou'd think themselves oblig'd to *Cbristiern*, if he wou'd consent to confirm and maintain the Peace which they had obtain'd; That his Master was endeavouring to make a League with *France* and *England*; and that as soon as the Truce betwixt *Denmark* and *Sweden* expir'd, he wou'd enter the last of these Kingdoms at the Head of his Army, to maintain his Right, and establish his Authority. He added, That he had Orders to assure him in his Master's Name, That his Majesty wou'd entrust him with the Government during his Absence, and advance him to the same Post which the Archbishops of *Upsal* enjoy'd under the Reign of his Predecessors.

The haughty Prelate listen'd attentively to a Proposal that flatter'd his Ambition. He look'd upon the Kindness he had lately receiv'd from the *Administrator*, as a meer forc'd Condescension; and instead of loving and honouring him, as his Benefactor, he began to hate and suspect him as a secret and implacable Enemy of his Family, and one who was oblig'd by Interest to humble and oppose him. He fancy'd that he might aspire to the Authority which that Prince enjoy'd, and even that he might obtain it, by devoting himself entirely to the King of *Denmark's* Service.

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Having consider'd all the advantageous Consequences of such a Revolution, he repeated his Protestations to the *Envoy*, that he would imitate the most Zealous of his Predecessors in their inviolable Fidelity to the Crown of *Denmark*. But since he was not well acquainted with the present State of a Kingdom from which he had been so long absent, 'twas resolv'd and agreed upon betwixt 'em, that he shou'd spend some time in reviving and increasing the *Danish* Faction; and that the King shou'd from time to time send private Agents to take an account of the Strength and Condition of their Party, and to concert the surest and most convenient Measures to put their Designs in Execution.

The *Danish* Envoy having finish'd his Negotiation return'd to his Master; and the Arch-Bishop embark'd for *Sweden* with a full resolution to Plot the ruin of the Administrator.

Tho' that Prelate was educated at *Rome*, he had made but a slender progress in the Arts of Subtilty and Diffimulation, that are so industriously taught at that Court. He was naturally of a stiff and violent Temper, more learned than Politic, proud of the Riches and Power of his Family and absolutely govern'd by his Humor. He was extremely imperious and haughty, and even incapable of Complaisance: he hated his Superiours, cou'd not endure his Equals, and slighted his Inferiours, among whom he reckon'd all those who were not so rich as himself. He was so far from regulating his Behaviour to the *Administrator* according to the Maxims of Policy, that he did not so much as observe the common Rules of decency. He industriously avoided that Prince, who in an obliging manner came out
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1515. of his Palace to meet him; and as soon as he came ashore, he went by Land to *Upsal* without sending any compliment to the Administrator, as if he had forgot both his Dignity and Kindness.

He spent the first days after his Arrival in receiving the Compliments of his Suffragans, and the Homage of his Clergy. His Relations and Friends, and the chief Persons of the *Danish* Faction went to visit him, some to congratulate his advancement, and others to discover his humor, and observe his Behaviour to the Administrator. In the mean time there was nothing to be seen at *Upsal* but Feasting and Rejoicing, which lasted above a Month; for that young Prelate affected so extraordinary a Magnificence, and his Friends and the Creatures of his Family were so numerous, that he was attended with a Court which in some measure obscur'd that of his the Sovereign.

But they were not so wholly intent upon their pleasure, as to forget Politicks and Affairs of State. 'Twas during these Feasts and in the heat of an Entertainment that the violent and impetuous Prelate began to discover his Dissatisfaction. He complain'd to his Friends of the Injury which he pretend'd was done to his Father in the late Election; and even cou'd not forbear saying publickly that *Steno* wou'd have had but few Voices if the Election had been free. Afterwards he discours'd in private with the Bishops to discover their Inclinations to the Government, and to know what confidence he might place in their Assistance, if he shou'd be engag'd in any Design against the Administrator. He insinuated, as it were by way of common discourse; that 'twas to be fear'd the end of the Truce with *Denmark* wou'd be the beginning of a bloody War; that he was perswaded *Christiern* wou'd leave no Means un-

unattempted to re-establish the Union of the Kingdoms upon the Foot of the Treaty of *Calmar*, notwithstanding the Election of an *Administrator*; that he pity'd the miserable condition of his Country, which, in all probability, wou'd be Sacrific'd to the ambition of these two Princes; that he knew not what side the Clergy ought to take, in case of an open Rupture; that 'twas true the Office of the *Administrator* seem'd to be instituted for the defence of the Nation and the Preservation of it's liberty; but that the Pretensions of the Kings of *Denmark* were founded on a just Claim; and besides that those Princes seem'd only to contend for the Title of Kings of *Sweden*, that they might entrust the Clergy with the whole care and Authority of the Government.

He added that Time and their Advice wou'd instruct him what measures he ought to observe with the King of *Denmark*: But as for Prince *Steno*, he declar'd that he was so fully convinc'd of the violent and indirect Methods that were us'd in his Election, that he did not think the Clergy oblig'd to defend and support the Dignity of the *Administrator* against the *Danes*, so long as that Prince was possess'd of it.

The Arch-bishop's Discourse was receiv'd with an universal Applause by his Suffragans. They unanimously declar'd for the King of *Denmark*, and even some of the most violent of 'em were of Opinion, that they ought immediately to invite him to break the Truce, and surprize Prince *Steno*, whom they reckon'd an Usurper; and that at the same Time each Prelate shou'd oblige the Towns and Castles in their respective Jurisdictions to own the Justice of the *Danish* pretensions. Others thought it necessary to put all Things in a Readiness to favour

1515. your the Invasion, and without losing Time to engage all their Friends and Vassals in the Design : and in the general all the Bishops endeavour'd to outvie each other in expressing their Complaisance to their Primate and an entire Resignation to his Conduct, which they were the more willing to promise, because the intended Invasion was yet but an uncertain project, and both the War and the Dangers that attend it seem'd to be at a Distance.

Afterwards the Arch-Bishop made it his Business to enquire into the Number and Strength of his Vassals. He sent a Body of Soldiers to take possession of the Fort of *Steque*, which belong'd to the Arch-Bishoprick, and furnish'd it with Stores and Ammunition, as if the War had been already declar'd. He oblig'd his Friends and Relations to give him new Assurances of their Assistance, and by his Magnificence and Liberality engag'd a considerable Number of 'em to remain with him.

The misunderstanding betwixt that Prelate and the *Administrator*, and the preparations that were made by his Creatures and the rest of the *Danish* Faction, gave Occasion to People to believe that the Kingdom wou'd quickly be made the Scene of a Civil War. *Upsal* became the general Rendezvous of all the *Malecontents*, and of those stragling *Adventurers*, who are always ready to offer their Service upon the first Appearance of a Faction, and are afterwards as apt to desert or betray their party, as they are variously acted by Fear or Interest. They were extreemly well receiv'd by the Arch-Bishop, who heard with pleasure their Complaints against the Government, and seem'd to be touch'd with a Sence of their Grievances. He endeavour'd to express his Dissatisfaction by his Discourse and all his Actions, that the dissatisfied Party

Party might be encourag'd to make their Addresses to him: but he carefully avoided every Thing that might give the People Occasion to suspect his Correspondence with the *Danes*, who, he knew, were generally hated by the whole *Swedish* Nation, except the Clergy. And therefore he took care to regulate his Behaviour in such a Manner, that his Hatred and aversion against the *Administrator* might be thought to proceed from a private Quarrel betwixt the two Families, in which the Estate was not at all concern'd.

The *Administrator* was equally surpriz'd and incens'd at the News of these Transactions. He perceiv'd that the Arch-Bishop was preparing for a Rupture, and was so enrag'd at that Prelate's Ingratitude, that being naturally of an impatient and fiery Temper, he wou'd have immediately march'd against him at the Head of his Army, if his Council had not moderated his Fury. They told him that *Princes* must not proceed in such Cases like *private Persons*; that his Anger and Resentment wou'd only serve to strengthen the Arch-Bishop's Party, and augment the Number of the Male-Contents; that he had to do with a People who were extremely Jealous of their Liberty, and always ready to oppose the Attempts of their Sovereigns: and therefore they advis'd him to conceal his Indignation, and to endeavour to gain that Prelate by gentle and obliging Methods.

Steno submitted to their Opinion, and under pretext of taking a Journey to some Lands that belong'd to him, he pass'd through *Upsal*, which lay directly in his Way, and is but ten *Swedish* Leagues from *Stockholm*. He alighted at the Arch-Bishop's Palace, and went to visit him with all the Demonstrations of Joy and an obliging Confidence that cou'd be express'd by a Prince who had Reason to believe that his

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his Dignity and Kindness wou'd procure him a hearty Welcom. After he had congratulated his happy Return to the Kingdom, he told him that he was extremely glad that he had had an occasion to contribute to his Advancement, and began to complain in a very kind and obliging Manner that he had not yet appear'd at the Court. And in the general he omitted no Expressions of Kindness and Civility that might appease the Anger of that stubborn Prelate, and bring him back to a Sense of his Duty.

The Arch Bishop who was both vex'd and surpriz'd at that Prince's Arrival answer'd his Caresses with a Constraint and Disturbance that appear'd visibly in all his Actions. However he entertain'd him with extraordinary Magnificence; but that was meerly an Effect of his vanity, and design'd rather to display his Power and Riches, than to express his Joy and Gratitude for the Honor the Administrator had done him. Nor cou'd he forbear in the Heat of their Discourse to reproach that Prince indirectly for using violent Methods, to obtain a Dignity which was only due to the Merits of his Father.

The Administrator who was loath to quarrel with a Man whom he purposely came to oblige, began to justify his Election; but that haughty Prelate wou'd not so much as condescend to hear his Reasons, and told him with a great deal of heat that the Time wou'd come when a free Convention of the Estates wou'd do Justice to his Father, and to all those who were dissatisfied with the Government.

The Prince was equally surpriz'd at the Arch Bishop's Threatnings, and incens'd at his Pride and Insolency. He retir'd with a Resolution to employ

employ all his Power and Interest to humble him; and least the Court of *Rome*, which usually takes hold of such Occasions to extend its Authority, under pretext of protecting the Clergy, shou'd interpose in this Affair, the Administrator wrote to the Pope to complain of the Insolence and ill Behaviour of that Prelate.

Not long after the Pope return'd an Answer full of kind and obliging Expressions. He blam'd *Trolle* for his Turbulency and ingratitude, and added that he had sent Orders to his *Legat* who was then at the Court of *Denmark*, to go immediately to *Sweden* and in his Name to admonish the Arch-Bishop of his Dury.

But notwithstanding those specious pretences, the Instructions he gave to his *Legate* were intended rather for a Complement than a real Satisfaction: For tho' he seem'd to blame the Arch-Bishop, he cou'd not but rejoyce in his Heart that both he and the other Prelates of the Kingdom, whom the Court of *Rome* is wont always to look upon as her Subjects and Creatures, shou'd extend their Power, and assume a Share in the Government of the State. And besides the Popes had always bore a secret Aversion to the Kings, and Sovereigns of *Sweden*, since those Princes had discontinu'd the payment of the Tribute usually call'd *St. Peter's Pence*. 'Twas impos'd by King *Olaus* as a Tax upon all his Subjects, when the Christian Religion was first introduced into the Kingdom. But most of his Successors refus'd to submit to an Imposition, which was equally injurious both to the Prince and to the Subjects.

Several Popes had in Vain demanded that Tribute; and even some of 'em had darted their usual Thunders of *Excommunication*, but without making

*Ann. 940.
Bazius
Hist. Eccles.
Succ.
& Gotica.*

*Honorius
III. John
XXII. Innocent VI.
Gregory XI.*

1515. ing the least impression upon those Princes : So that the Court of *Rome* was at last oblig'd to give over its successless Attempts upon a People, whose Eyes were open'd rather by *Policy* than *Learning*, and who by an early and unanimous Resolution had shaken off the Fear of Ecclesiastical Censures. The *Administrator* was admonish'd by his Council, who were acquainted with the Inclinations and Politicks of the Court of *Rome*, not to rely upon the Pope's Assistance in so dangerous a Juncture : Nor did he place so much Confidence in the Apostolical Letters, but at the same Time he took more effectual Measures for the Defence and preservation of his Authority.

He summon'd a Meeting of the *Estates* at *Tellis*, under pretext that the Truce with *Denmark* was ready to expire ; but in effect to procure a new Confirmation of this Title and Authority, and at the same time to discover the Strength of the Archbishop's Party.

That Prelate, on the other hand, made it his Business to gain more *Friends* to the King of *Denmark*, and to raise new Enemies to the *Administrator*. He exacted fresh Assurances of Fidelity from those of his Party, and even engag'd the Governours of the Castles of *Stockholm* and *Nicopine* in the *Danish* Faction. Afterwards he sent a trusty Messenger to King *Christiern*, to give him an Account of the present Posture of Affairs, and of the Condition of his Party ; and to intreat him to advance immediately at the Head of his Army, without staying for the end of the Truce, which he might easily find several plausible Pretexts to violate. And besides he order'd his Agent to assure him, That the Government of the Castles of *Stockholm* and *Nicopine* wou'd declare in his Favour, and receive his Forces into the Places under their Command.

Christiern

Christiern, replied to these Solicitations, that it wou'd not be sufficient to break the Truce, unless the Estates of *Denmark* wou'd contribute to the War against *Sweden*; that he was endeavouring to engage the principal persons of the Kingdom in that Design; that he believ'd he had already gain'd the Legate that was going to *Sweden*; that if the Negotiation of that Prelate shou'd not be attended with success, he wou'd take care to start some difference betwixt the Two Nations, and push it on so far that the Estates of *Denmark* shou'd be oblig'd to take up Arms in the defence of the Nation.

In the mean time the Estates of *Sweden* Assembled at *Tellia*, where the Administrator had appointed 'em to meet; and he had the pleasure to see that most of the Deputies were the same persons who had contributed most effectually to his Advancement. This encourag'd him to summon the Arch-Bishop to repair thither, in order to his qualifying himself for his Office, by taking the usual Oath of Fidelity to the Estates. But that Prelate not daring to appear in an Assembly, where his Enemy had so strong a party, shut himself up in the Fort of *Stegne*, which was a Castle seated on the top of a Hill, and equally fortifi'd by Art and Nature. The Arch-Bishop of *Upsal* had taken all imaginable care to render it Impregnable, according to the Rules that were observ'd in those days; and besides, it was sufficiently secur'd by the privileges of the Clergy which made it an inviolable Sanctuary. The Arch-Bishop call'd a meeting of the Bishops and others of his Faction, and the Assembly was held in that Castle, as if the Convention at *Tellia* had neither been free nor lawfully call'd. Thus both parties were making preparations for an open Rupture, when *John Arcemboldi*, Pope *Leo* the Tenth's Legate in the Northern Kingdoms arriv'd in *Sweden*, and offer'd

1515.

Joan. Magnus ult. Archiep. Upsal.

1515. his Mediation to negotiate an Agreement betwixt
 the Arch-Bishop and the Administrator.

The Legate was of a smooth and pliant Temper, extreamly Polite and Complaisant, and seem'd to make the getting of Money his principal Business, and the main Object of his Desires. He pretended, among his other Commissions, to be intrusted with a full power to grant Licenses for the eating of Flesh on Fish-days, to those who wou'd be at the charge of purchasing a dispensation. At the same time he distributed indulgences to all those who wou'd contribute a certain sum for the Building of St. Peter's Church at Rome. These new Projects for draining the People of their Money were set on foot about that time, and carry'd a little too far by the Ministers of the Court of Rome under the Pontificate of Leo X. though perhaps without his knowledge.

Arceboldi, scrap'd together those profitable Incomes, with all the greediness of a Soldier that is sent to levy Contributions. He had fleec'd a part of Denmark under the protection of his Bulls, and not satisfy'd with the considerable sums he had rais'd in that Kingdom, he put his Money out to Interest, or employ'd it in Merchandizing, when he was preparing for his departure to Sweden.

King *Christiern*, was extreamly dissatisfy'd with the Commission and Behaviour of that Legate, who under a Religious pretext drew all the Money out of his Dominions; but he durst not express his displeasure. He cou'd not hope to succeed in his design against Sweden, without the assistance of the Clergy, and he was afraid least they wou'd become his Enemies, if he shou'd quarrel with the Court of Rome. Thus he was forc'd to purchase the favour of that Prelate at the rate of exposing his Kingdom as a prey to his Avarice. He over-loaded him with Cares and Obligations during his Abode in Denmark, and at his departure he receiv'd his

his last visit with the highest Demonstrations of kindness and Civility.

He pray'd him to imploy the interest and Authority to which his Character entitl'd him for the Establishment of a firm and lasting Peace betwixt the Two Kingdoms. He assur'd him that he was ready to consent to any reasonable expedients for the carrying on of so good a design, provided the *Swedes* wou'd engage to put the Treaty of *Calmar* in execution. He added that neither the Civil Wars, nor the most successful Rebellions cou'd be suppos'd to make void the Obligation of so solemn a Treaty; that the Clergy and all the honest party in the Kingdom look'd upon the Union that was agreed upon in that famous Assembly as the truest way to establish a solid and durable Peace betwixt the Two Nations; and that this was the only fault which the Administrator cou'd object against the Arch-Bishop. He pray'd the Legate to protect that Prelate from the unjust Rage of a rash and insolent youth; and concluded that he hop'd he wou'd put some difference betwixt a Captain of Rebels, and a Sovereign, whose Family had been always devoted to the interest of the holy See.

The Legate was not ignorant that the Court of *Rome* was extreamly well pleas'd with the *Danes*, and very much dissatisfy'd with the *Swedes*; and besides he knew that King *Christiern* was ally'd to the House of *Austria*, for which the Pope had an extraordinary respect: but the most prevailing Motive that engag'd him in that Prince's service was the consideration of the Money he left in the Kingdom, and of that which he hop'd to get at his return, in some Provinces where he had not yet publish'd his Indulgences. He assur'd the King that he wou'd prosecute his designs with all imaginable Vigor and Zeal, and even insinuated to

1515. him that he had secret orders to favour his pretensions and protect his Creatures, adding, that under the seeming Character of a Mediator, would he promote his Interest, and serve him with as much Fidelity and Affection as he cou'd expect to find in his own Ministers.

The King of *Denmark* relying upon these Protestations discover'd his most secret designs, and talk'd to him with more freedom than a Prince ought to use with a Foreign Minister. He told him, that he was sure of the Castles of *Stockholm* and *Nicepine*, that all the Bishops were ready to receive him into the places that were under their Command, and that the Arch-Bishop of *Upsal* who manag'd the whole design wou'd come over to his Army as soon as he shou'd appear on the Frontiers of the Kingdom. He entreated the Legate to confer with that Prelate, if it were possible to keep any Correspondence with him without giving people occasion to suspect the design of their Conferences. He desir'd him also to concert with the Arch-Bishop the surest and most convenient Methods to put their project in execution.

The Legate left *Denmark* with these Instructions, and as soon as he arriv'd at the Court of *Sweden*, he publickly exhorted the Administrator and the Senate in the Pope's Name to conclude a firm and lasting Peace with *Denmark*. Some days after he demanded a private Audience of the Administrator, in which he intreated that Prince to grant the honour of his Friendship to the Arch-Bishop, and not to disturb that Prelate in the possession of a dignity which the Pope conferr'd upon him merely at his Recommendation. *Steno* reply'd in few Words, and with a great deal of Courage and Resolution, that he wou'd always receive his Holiness's desires with Submission and Respect, and have an honourable regard for the
Person



Person of his Legate; but withal he told him, that he ought in the first place to offer his Advice and Admonitions to the Arch-Bishop, who he assur'd him might enjoy his Dignity without the least disturbance or molestation, if he wou'd return to a sence of his duty.

The Legate who only waited for an occasion to enter upon the Subject of his Negotiation, told the Prince that he had receiv'd orders from the Pope to offer and consult about the best expedients for bringing the difference betwixt him and the Arch-Bishop to an amicable agreement, and for establishing a firm and durable peace between *Sweden* and *Denmark*; and that he perceiv'd that the latter could hardly be accomplish'd without the former. He pray'd him to accept the mediation of the holy See, he exhorted him to prefer a solid Peace before the uncertain chance of Warr, which perhaps wou'd not be equally agreeable to all the Estates of the Kingdom, and wou'd make him odious even to the Nobility and Commons, if it shou'd happen to be prolong'd beyond their Expectation, or if they shou'd be disappointed of their hope of success.

This discourse and the care the Legate took to confound the Arch-Bishop's Affair with the King of *Denmark*'s pretensions, made the Administrator suspect the intentions of that Prelate, who he concluded was gain'd by his Enemies, and acquainted with all their Designs. He knew how much it was his interest to discover the bottom of their project; but 'twas not an easie Task for a young *Swedish* Prince to pump a secret out of an *Italian* Prelate, who had been train'd up in the art of dissimulation in the Court of *Rome*. And therefore instead of endeavouring to unriddle the mystery by over-reaching that crafty Minister in an art of which he was an absolute Master, he resolv'd to

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attack

1515. attack him on the weak side ; and in pursuance of that design, he intreated him, by the advice of the Senate, to distribute his indulgences in the Kingdom, assuring him that during that time he would take such measures as might be conducive to the publick good, and agreeable to the inclinations of the holy Father.

This contrivance had all the success that could be desired: The Legate was extremely glad of so favourable an opportunity of continuing his gainful trade with so fair a prospect of Advantage, which was the only design of his Legation to the Northern Countries. He was afraid that if the Two Nations should come to an open Rupture, 'twould be impossible for him to pursue his Commission in *Sweden*, and that the tumultuous confusion of War would deprive him of the profits of his Mission, for which 'twas thought he had advanced a considerable Summ to the Apostolical Chamber. And therefore as soon as he had obtained the consent of the Administrator and Senate, he publish'd his Bulls thro the whole Kingdom, and his Officers took care to disperse 'em thro all the Provinces. Those under-Collectors, or Licens'd Beggars whom he carry'd about with him, were certain persons who had farm'd the right of publishing his Bulls, and were oblig'd to purchase their Leases for a considerable summ of Money. 'Twas always his Custom to agree with the highest bidder, without regarding the qualifications of those mercenary Preachers, provided they could give him sufficient security for the payment of his Money.

The Administrator, either out of Policy or Devotion, seem'd very desirous of obtaining these indulgences. He was very liberal on that occasion ; and in imitation of his example the Senators and all the Nobility laid out considerable summs of

of Money on these Commodities. The common people who are usually the best customers at such Markets, emptied their pockets to secure their Souls: every one was willing to contribute to the pious design, and even the wildest Debauches seem'd to grow fond of the modish Devotion, which the Administrator had brought into fashion, and were easily perswaded to submit to a penance that tended only to mortifie their purses.

Arcemboldi amass'd a prodigious Treasure in Sweden; and the Administrator suffer'd him to export the Money in *Specie*, without paying any Customs or Duties. This was a very considerable favour; for all the Princes of *Germany* exacted a third part of the profits of the indulgences that were publish'd in their Dominions. And as a further mark of his kindness he sent several magnificent presents to the Legate, and among the rest a considerable quantity of rich Furs, and a very large Table of massy Silver.

The Administrator imagining that he had absolutely gain'd the Legate by so many obliging Demonstrations of his Favour, and by the richness of his presents, some time after took an occasion to discourse with him in private. After he had complain'd of the Arch-Bishop's ingratitude, he told the Legate that he had receiv'd a full information of that Prelate's pernicious designs, and that he was resolv'd either to bring him to a fence of his duty, or to make him leave the Kingdom. *Arcemboldi* was so charm'd with that Prince's liberality that he acknowledg'd the Justice of his resolution, and even cou'd not forbear discovering the King of *Denmark's* secret. He thought his Conscience oblig'd him to bestow his favours, where he receiv'd the most bountiful returns, and perhaps was afraid that the Administrator was already acquainted with the instructions he had receiv'd from the

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King of *Denmark*, and wou'd stop the Money he had rais'd in the Kingdom, if he shou'd still continue to conceal so dangerous a secret. Resolving then to make the best advantage of a discovery which perhaps he cou'd not prevent, he gave the Prince a full account of the King of *Denmark's* designs, of the correspondence he entertain'd with the *Swedish* Clergy, and of the infidelity of the Governours of the Castles of *Stockholm* and *Nicopinc*.

Yet for his own security he made the Administrator promise to carry on his design with so much prudence and caution, that the Arch-Bishop might not have the least occasion to suspect that he had betray'd King *Christiern's* Secret. At his Return to *Denmark*, he seem'd to be extreemly afflicted with the ill success of his Negotiation. He told the King that the Administrator was so exasperated against the Arch-Bishop, that there was no hope of a speedy Reconciliation; that in his opinion that Prelate was an obstacle to the Re-establishment of the Treaty of *Calmar*; that he kept himself constantly shut up in the Castle of *Steque*, from whence he seem'd to threaten the Administrator with a Civil War; that he did not think it convenient to go thither, lest *Steno* shou'd have suspected his design; that the Administrator was possess'd with an extraordinary Aversion against the person of that Prelate; and that he had Reason to believe that though 'twere possible to prevail with the Prince to resign his dignity, he wou'd never be perswaded to consent to that proposal, while he thought it might prove advantageous to his Enemy.

The King of *Denmark* perceiving the ill success of the Legate's Negotiation, concluded that he cou'd never make himself Master of *Sweden* but at the head of a powerful Army. He consider'd also that

that the Truce was not yet expir'd, and that he cou'd not begin the War without the consent and approbation of the Estates of *Denmark*: and therefore he gave private orders to his Admiral to affront the first *Swedish* Ships he should meet with, not doubting but that the Administrator wou'd endeavour to revenge such an indignity, by way of Reprizal or Retaliation, either by Land or Sea, which wou'd oblige the Estates and Senate of *Denmark* to declare War against *Sweden*.

In the mean time the Administrator took all possible care to frustrate the designs of his Enemies; and resolv'd to make the best improvement of the Legate's discovery without betraying his secret. He inform'd the Senate that several persons in the Kingdom were engag'd in a Conspiracy against the State, and that the Governours of *Stockholm* and *Nicopinc* had betray'd their Trust, and were ready to receive the Enemies into the places which they commanded. The Senate was alarm'd at the News of so black a design, and pray'd him to secure the Traytors. He pretended to take a review of the Garison of *Nicopinc*, and as soon as the Governour and Soldiers came out of the Fort he order'd a new Garrison to take possession of the place, under the Command of a Governour who was absolutely devoted to his Interest. At the same time he gave orders to arrest the Governour of the Castle of *Stockholm*, who attended at Court according to his usual Custom. Then he call'd a meeting of the Estates at *Westeras*, the Capital City of *Westmannia*, where those two Governours were accus'd of contriving and abetting a Treasonable design against their Countrey, and Commissioners were appointed to draw their Indictment. The fear of punishment and the hope of a pardon made so strong an impression upon 'em, that they confess'd their design to deliver up these

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places

1516. places to the King of *Denmark*, and accus'd the Arch-Bishop as the Author and Fomenter of the Conspiracy.

The Administrator having this advantage over him, resolv'd to proceed against him with the utmost Rigour; and in order to his Conviction order'd him to be summon'd to give an account of his Behaviour to the Estates. Some of the Senators who were sensible of the dangerous tendency of these divisions, and dreaded the fatal consequences of an open Rupture, endeavour'd under-hand to persuade the Arch-Bishop to submit to the Administrator, and even offer'd him a safe Conduct sign'd by the principal Members of the Estates, hoping to divert the threatening storm, and to gain the stubborn Prelate by easie and gentle methods.

The Arch-Bishop was enrag'd to find that his designs were blasted by too early a discovery: he complain'd to his Friends of the King of *Denmark's* remissness and neglect, and immediately sent one of his Creatures to that Prince to acquaint him with the danger to which his party in *Sweden* was expos'd, and to hasten his March to that Kingdom. In the mean time to amuse the Senate, he desir'd that a new Convention of the Estates might be summon'd, under pretext that the greatest part of the deputies that compos'd the Assembly at *Westeras* were either the Creatures or Relations of his declar'd Enemy.

The Estates were so incens'd at the Pride and Obstinacy of that religious Prelate, that they resolv'd to secure his person and bring him to a Tryal. They intreated the Administrator to invest the place where he resided; and at the same time orders were given out to apprehend his Father, and such of his Friends and Relations as were suspected to be privy to his designs against the Government, or might be suppos'd to be able and willing to take
up

up Arms in his Defence. And since they foresaw that these Proceedings would infallibly occasion a Rupture with the King of *Denmark*, the Administrator was desir'd to raise the Militia, and to put the Kingdom in such a posture, that it might not be in danger to be surpriz'd by its Enemies.

The Breach betwixt the Arch-Bishop and the Estates, gave the Prince an occasion to revenge a private quarrel, under the plausible pretext of punishing a publick Enemy, and that he might not lose so favourable an opportunity, he gave Orders immediately for a general Rendezvous of all the Nobility and Militia of the Kingdom. His Friends and Relations repair'd to his Assistance at the head of their Forces, every one striving to signalize his Fidelity to his Country, and Affection to the Prince, in a War that was undertaken to maintain his Election, and defend the Liberty of the Nation.

Among all the Noblemen who assisted the Administrator on this occasion, there was none who expressed a more vigorous Zeal for his Interest than *Gustavus Ericson*, the great Standard Bearer of the Crown: A young Lord about Six and Twenty Years of Age, descended from the ancient Kings of *Sweden*, and particularly from King *Canutson*, who was his great Uncle. He was the Son of *Eric Vasa*, Governour of *Finland*, and Cousin German to the Administrator, with whom he was educated. He had naturally a high and daring Spirit, his Soul was possess'd with an eager desire of Glory, and infinitely more sensible of the Manly Delights of Ambition, than of the softer Charms of Pleasure. The Administrator divided his Favour and Confidence betwixt him and his Father; but the old Age of that Senator, and a certain Timorousness that appear'd in all his Actions, made such an impression upon the Prince, that tho

1516. he did not esteem him less for these Disadvantages, he took more pleasure in *Gustavus*, who with an equal solidity of Judgment, was Master of more Courage and Strength of Mind, and never propos'd any Designs or Expedients, but what were suitable to the Bravery, and agreeable to the Inclinations of his young Master.

'Twas by his Advice that the Prince resolv'd to give Fire Arms to the *Peasants*, who till then, had only, or for the most part, made use of Bows and Arrows. The Administrator order'd a considerable number of Musquets to be brought to *Lubeck*, and put on Board a Ship, which set Sail immediately for *Stockholm*, but was taken by the *Danish* Admiral, as she came out of the Mouth of the *Trave*, which passes by *Lubeck*. This Act of Hostility serv'd for a Declaration and Signal of a Bloody War, which began betwixt the two Nations, notwithstanding the opposition made by the Estates of *Denmark*, who were desirous to continue the Truce.

The Administrator was not so discourag'd by this Loss, as to give over the design he had form'd against the Arch-Bishop. He put himself at the head of the Militia or Infantry, which was the most numerous Body in his Army, and gave the Command of the Horse to *Gustavus*. The Bishops of *Stregnez* and *Lincopne* march'd before, under pretext of interposing their Interest and Mediation, to bring their Primate to a Sence of his Duty; but their real Design was to give him notice of the Strength and Condition of the Administrator's Forces. For though the Prelates were engag'd both by Interest and Inclination in the *Danish* Faction, as well as the Arch-Bishop, they were more Politick and Cunning, and took care to conceal their real Sentiments, the discovery of which cou'd neither be advantageous to their Party, nor safe for them-

themselves, at a time when the whole Nation was in Arms for the Administrator. At their arrival at *Stoque*, they intreated the Administrator to excuse 'em for not declaring against that Prince, according to their agreement at *Upsal*, assuring him that they only waited till the King of *Denmark* shou'd enter the Kingdom to support 'em. They advis'd him to reflect upon the Power and Strength of the Administrator, who in few days wou'd appear before the Walls of his Castle, at the head of a numerous Army; and concluded with telling him, that 'twould be an Action worthy his Prudence to divert the impending Storm, and amuse the young Prince with a seeming Submission, from which he might easily disengage himself, as soon as they should meet with a more favourable juncture to put their designs in Execution.

The Arch-Bishop rejected the Advice of his politic Suffragans with Anger and Disdain, and chid 'em for their Weakness, which he branded with the names of Treason and Cowardice. He told 'em he had received Advice by an Envoy from *Denmark*, that *Christiern* was preparing to invade *Sweden* with all his Forces; that his Fleet was fitted out, and ready to make a Descent; that the Administrator was not in a Condition to oppose so potent an Enemy, that he hop'd in a little time to see the King of *Denmark* seated on the *Swedish* Throne, and that they had reason to fear that he wou'd be reveng'd on his false Friends, as well as on his declar'd Enemies. The Bishops finding that their Remonstrances serv'd only to exasperate their fierce and stubborn Primate, retir'd to give place the Administrator's Army, which at the same time appear'd before the Castle.

The Prince hop'd to carry the Place, before the *Danes* cou'd be able to make a Diversion, but he had scarce open'd the Trenches, when he was inform'd

1516. form'd that the Enemy had made a descent near *Stockholm*, and were destroying the Countrey with Fire and Sword. Upon this advice he divided his Army, and leaving the Infantry to guard the lines, he march'd with the Cavalry towards the Enemy, accompanied with *Gustavus*, and follow'd by all the *Swedish* youth, who long'd for an occasion to signalize their Courage under the Command and in the presence of their Prince.

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The Administrator met the *Danes* near the Castle of *Wedel*; and *Gustavus* was the first who charg'd 'em at the head of a Squadron. The Action was very bloody, and the Victory was for some time disputed on both sides with all the obstinacy which is usually observ'd in those first Encounters, on the event of which the honour of the Nation and the success of the Campaign seems to depend. But at last the *Danish* Troops were defeated, and the greatest part of 'em cut to pieces: those who had the good fortune to escape made a disorderly Retreat to their Ships, and retir'd to *Denmark*.

The Prince ascrib'd all the glory of this important Action to *Gustavus*, who after he had attack'd the Enemies with a great deal of Vigour, ran into the midst of 'em with his Sword in his hand, and pursu'd 'em to their Vessels, without giving 'em time to Rally. 'Twas upon this occasion that the Prince began to consider him as an useful person, whom before he had only lov'd as an agreeable Companion. He admir'd the surprizing genius of that young Lord, his eager inclination to War, his Courage, Valour, and above all the extraordinary presence of Mind he had shewn in the first Essay of his Arms. He was the best Judge of such Qualities as these, and naturally inclin'd to prefer 'em before other endowments: and consequently they made a stronger and more lasting impression upon his Mind.

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After so considerable a success, the Prince led back his Victorious Troops to the Siege of *Steque*. The Arch-Bishop was extremely alarm'd at the News of the intire defeat and flight of the *Danes*, who abandon'd him to the mercy of his Enemies; for he imagin'd that the King of *Denmark* wou'd have taken more effectual measures to support and relieve him. The Bishops, and the rest of his party were so over-aw'd by the Prince's power that they durst not declare against him and even those who were most suspected were either secur'd, or driven out of the places that were under their Command. In the mean time the besiegers carry'd on their Works to the foot of the Wall: but tho the Arch-Bishop was not able to make a longer resistance, the natural Pride and fierceness of his Temper, and his implacable aversion against the Administrator wou'd not suffer him to condescend to a Treaty. He defended the Castle for some days with all the fury and obstinacy of a desperate Man who resolves to bury himself under the ruins of the Walls that enclose him: but the Officers of the Garrison were of another opinion, and fearing to be treated as Rebels if the place shou'd be storm'd and they found in Arms against their Prince and Countrey, forc'd their haughty Governour to Capitulate.

He desir'd to treat with the Administrator in person, and offer'd to come to his Tent provided *Gustavus* shou'd be deliver'd as a Hostage. *Steno* consented to that proposal, and *Gustavus* enter'd the Castle at the same time that the Arch-Bishop came out of it in order to attend the Administrator. But he was so fear'd with a sence of his guilt, that he durst neither rely upon the exchange nor the Faith of a Treaty, which is reckon'd an inviolable security according to the Law of Nations. And therefore knowing how dear *Gustavus* was to the Prince, that

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that he might at least have the pleasure to taste the cruel delights of Revenge, he left orders with the Officers of the Garrison, to cause that Lord to be hang'd on the Battlements of the Castle, if they shou'd receive advice that the Administrator treat-ed him as a Prisoner.

When he came before the Prince he desir'd leave to Capitulate, with as much confidence as if he had been defending the place, for the service of his Countrey, against the publick Enemies of the Nation. But the Administrator, desiring that the obstinacy of that Prelate might be reputed a Crime against the State, and a downright Rebellion, refus'd to enter into a Treaty, and in the name and behalf of the Estates of *Sweden*, requir'd, that a Garrison might be put into the Castle. He told the Arch-Bishop that 'twas the Senate's business to give Judgment concerning his behaviour; and to regulate the conditions of the Treaty; adding that he wou'd not appear in the Senate till they had decided that affair; and that he wou'd neither be his Friend nor his Judge, since he refus'd to acknowledge his Authority.

The Arch-Bishop, who was still as haughty and insolent as ever, imagin'd that the Administrator, notwithstanding his seeming Resolution, referr'd the decision of their difference to the Senate, on purpose that some of the Members of that illustrious Body might offer their mediation in order to a friendly agreement. Upon this Consideration he surrender'd the Castle to the Prince, and having obtain'd a safe Conduct or protection, took Journey to *Stockholm* accompany'd with a numerous Train of his Followers, and attended with as magnificent an Equipage, as if he had triumph'd over all his Enemies. He fancy'd that his interest with the King of *Denmark* wou'd strike such a Terrour into his Judges, that they wou'd think themselves a-

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bundantly satisfy'd by his pretending to be innocent; concluding that they wou'd look upon his Revolt, as a private quarrel betwixt him and the Administrator, occasion'd by the jealousy of the Government, and wou'd expect no other Satisfaction, than a bare acknowledgment of that Prince's Authority.

But he was quickly made sensible of his Error, and of the vanity of his Airy Hopes; for as soon as he arriv'd at *Stockholm*, they began to proceed against him with Vigour. The Senate finding that they might safely rely upon the assistance of the Administrator, who was still at the head of his Army, gave judgment against that Prelate; and the Bishops of *Lincoping*, *Stregnez*, and *Scara*, who were Members of that Body, were oblig'd to submit to the plurality of Voices, and to subscribe his Condemnation, for fear of being suspected and prosecuted as Favourers and Abettors of his Rebellion. He was declar'd an Enemy to his Country, and 'twas ordain'd by the Senate that he shou'd immediately resign his Title to the Arch-Bishoprick, that he shou'd retire to a Monastery to do Penitence for all the Disturbances his Ambition had rais'd in the Kingdom; that the Fort of *Streque* which had encourag'd the *Danes* to invade *Sweden*, and under the former Arch-Bishops had been always made a Sanctuary and Retiring-place for Rebels and disaffected Persons, shou'd be demolish'd, that publick Thanks shou'd be given to the Administrator, for his Diligence in stifling the Rebellion; and that the whole Kingdom shou'd unanimously concur to maintain the authority of that Prince, and the Decree of the Senate, in case the Pope thro' mis-information or prejudice, shou'd endeavour to restore the Arch-Bishop.

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This Decree was enter'd in the publick Registers, sign'd by all the Senators, Spiritual and Temporal; and in execution of these Orders, the Fort of *Steque* was demolish'd, and the Arch-Bishop forc'd to renounce his Dignity. He deliver'd his Resignation in full Senate, to be transmitted to the Pope; but at the same time, he sent one of his Creatures to *Rome*, to complain of these violent Proceedings, and to beg the Protection of the Holy See.

The King of *Denmark* engag'd all his Friends at the Court of *Rome*, to employ their Interest to support and defend that Prelate, whose Abdication had blasted all his Designs, and ruin'd his Party in *Sweden*. He was rather irritated than discourag'd at the defeat of his Forces, and made new Levies to invade *Sweden*, during the next Campaign; for the Estates of *Denmark* thought themselves oblig'd to revenge the loss they sustain'd at *Wedel*. He sent to *Muscovy* to sollicite the *Czar* to declare against the Administrator, and endeavour'd to prevail with the Pope, to joyn his Ecclesiastical Thunders to the Forces with which he design'd to attack that Prince.

His importunity and the Arch-Bishop's Complaints, made so great an impression upon the Pope, that he order'd his Legate *Arcemboldi*, who was still in *Denmark*, to return immediately to *Sweden*, and require the Administrator to put the Arch-Bishop in possession of his Office and Dignity upon pain of Excommunication. The Legate, at his arrival in *Sweden*, employ'd all his Interest and Rhetorick to perswade that Prince to give the Pope Satisfaction. He represented to him in private, with an ingenuity and freedom that were not suitable to his Character, but seem'd to be the effects of their former Friendship, and a requital of the Administrator's Kindness, that the Anger and Dissatisfaction of the Court of *Rome*, were terrible to the greatest Monarchs;

narchs ; that he ought to dread and avoid the fatal Consequences of an Excommunication ; that in such a Case, the People as well as the Clergy wou'd forsake him ; that even his Friends and most devoted Creatures, wou'd hardly venture to incur the Censure and Indignation of the Church ; that since both his Honour and Revenge were satisfy'd by the Arch-Bishops Resignation, he had a fair opportunity to lay an Obligation upon the Holy See, and that the Pope wou'd by that means, be engag'd to be surety for that Prelate's good Behaviour.

The Administrator communicated the Pope's Message to the Senate, and acquainted 'em both with his Desires and Menaces. The Bishops of *Lincoping*, *Stregnez*, and *Scara*, who had been forc'd to sign the Arch-Bishop's sentence, seconded the Legate's Proposal with a great deal of Vigour, but were unanimously oppos'd by the Lay-Senators, who were the most powerful and numerous part of the Assembly. They told the Administrator, that he ought not to be scar'd at the Thunders of the *Vatican*, since their Strength and Efficacy depended merely upon the Weakness and Credulity of those against whom they were pointed; that the Contrivances and Machinations of the Court of *Rome* were always cover'd with a religious Disguise; that Scorn and Contempt was the best security against such Menaces ; that the Pope was incens'd against 'em for denying his Tribute, and that the King of *Denmark*, in Conjunction with *Leo X.* solicited the Restoration of a Rebel, to his former Power and Dignity, that he might afterwards by his Assistance, make himself master of the Kingdom.

Steno by their Advice, answer'd the Legate, that he cou'd not imagine what motives shou'd induce the Pope to undertake the defence of a Traytor, who was seiz'd in actual Rebellion against his Country, and deserv'd to be punish'd with Death,

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for holding Intelligence with the Enemies of the Nation; that his Character and Dignity cou'd not be suppos'd to protect him from the just indignation of his injur'd Sovereign; that his Judges thought they had pronounc'd a very favourable Sentence against him, by condemning him only to perpetual Imprisonment; that his Brethren of the Clergy had sign'd his Condemnation, and that his Judgment cou'd not be revers'd without exposing the Kingdom to new and fatal Disorders.

The Experience he had formerly had of the Legate's temper, made him resolve to strengthen these Reasons with a more prevailing and demonstrative Argument; and therefore after he had soften'd him with several considerable Presents, he offer'd him the Arch-Bishoprick of *Upsal*, and engag'd to obtain a Decree of the Estates in his favour, empowering him to hold that Benefice, during his Life, without being oblig'd to reside in the Kingdom.

The Legate was so dazzl'd with the tempting prospect of filling his Coffers with the Revenues of so fat a Benefice, that he forgot his Commission, and thought he might plead a sufficient excuse for neglecting to execute the Orders he had receiv'd from the Pope. He embrac'd the alluring proposal with joy, and in Testimony of his Gratitude to his Benefactor, he approv'd all that he had done, and publickly blam'd the Arch-Bishop. He wrote to *Rome* against that Prelate, and assur'd the Pope, that he had justly drawn upon himself the Indignation of the Administrator and Estates of *Sweden*, by rebelling against his Country. At the same time he sollicit'd all his Friends to employ their Interest with the Holy Father, to procure a Confirmation of the Sentence pronounc'd against that Prelate, and leave to appear a Candidate at the approaching Election. But the Pope reject'd his Request, and absolutely refus'd to grant the Permis-

sion that was requir'd to qualifie him for that Dignity ; either out of regard to the house of *Austria* and the King of *Denmark*, who declar'd in favour of the Arch-Bishop, or as a mark of his just resentment for the Offence he had given by his scandalous way of distributing Indulgences in the North.

1517.

Upon the Administrator's refusal to restore the Arch-Bishop, the Pope discharg'd his Thunders against the whole Kingdom, and particularly against the Administrator and Senate, whom he Excommunicated. Besides he ordain'd 'em to rebuild the Fort of *Steque* at their own charge, and to pay a Hundred Thousand Ducats as a fine to the Arch-Bishop. The Bull was directed to *Theodore* Arch-Bishop of *Lunden* in *Denmark*, and the Bishop of *Odensee* in *Fuenen*, who at King *Christiern's* solicitation were entrusted with the care of publishing it : and that Prince was desir'd to put it in execution and to treat the disobedient *Swedes* as Excommunicated persons and obstinate Schismatics.

1518.

The suddenness of so terrible a blow surpriz'd all *Europe*, and the *Swedes* were extremely offended at the last article of the Bull which committed the execution of it to the King of *Denmark*. They said that it did not become the common Father of Christendom to side with either of the contending parties, much less to make use of his power which was altogether spiritual, to protect a Rebel and a Traytor, and to authorize a Prince, who endeavour'd to make himself master of their liberties and Fortunes. The Senate issu'd out a strict order prohibiting all persons to give obedience to the Bull under severe penalties : and the Administrator took all possible care to put himself in a condition to oppose the *Danish* Army, without which he was not much afraid of all the Thunders of the *Vatican*.

The Legate perceiving that 'twou'd be scandalous to reside longer at the Court of a Prince whom

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his Master had Excommunicated ; was forc'd to leave *Sweden* and to relinquish his expectation of the Arch-Bishoprick of *Upsal*. At his return to *Denmark* he found King *Christiern* drawing his forces together in order to his expedition against *Sweden*. As soon as that Prince receiv'd the Pope's Bull, he enter'd into that Kingdom at the head of his Army, and immediately began to destroy the Country with Fire and Sword, to stun the *Swedes* with terrible apprehensions of his vengeance. But at the same time to give some colour of Justice and Religion to those Barbarities which he committed purely out of Revenge, he caus'd the Bull to be solemnly affix'd in all the places where he left the marks of his Fury, as if he had only come with a design to execute the Pope's orders.

Some time after he sat down with all his Forces before *Stockholm*, hoping that the Terror of his Arms, the Consternation of the Citizens, and especially the fear of Excommunication would occasion some Tumult that might be improv'd to his advantage : But the Governour and Magistrates of the City took such effectual measures to keep the people in order, that there was not the least appearance of any disturbance. The Inhabitants were possess'd with so strong an aversion against the *Danes* that they resolv'd to defend the Town to the last extremity ; and the Burghers mingl'd with the Soldiers of the Garrison made frequent and furious Sallies. The Besiegers found every where an incredible resistance : every Foot of Ground which they gain'd cost 'em the Lives of a great number of their Men ; and they were oftentimes beaten out of those posts in the day, which they had surpriz'd during the obscurity of the Night. The Garrison made a continual Fire which did a great deal of Execution ; and besides the *Danes* suffer'd extremely for want of necessary Provisions.

The

The King was advis'd by his Officers to retire, before the *Swedes* came up, who were upon their march to relieve the Town: but he was so incens'd against the Burghers for their vigorous' resist-
ance, that he resolv'd obstinately to continue the Siege. In the mean time the Administrator was putting himself in a condition to march against the Enemy with all the Forces of the Kingdom. The whole Nation took the Alarm, and ran to arms with an incredible Ardor: every Man thought himself concern'd in the defence of the common cause, and all the Provinces of the Kingdom seem'd to be animated with a spirit of Revenge and Fury. Thus instead of an Army of regulated Troops the Administrator saw himself at the head of a vast Body of Tumultuary Forces who without waiting for Orders took up Arms for the preservation of their liberty. The whole Coun-
treys was overspread with swarms of Peasants who came flocking to the general Rendezvous, some descending from the Mountains, and others running out of the Woods. Most of these savage Warriors were cloath'd with the Skins of Wild Beasts, and arm'd after a very odd and even ridiculous manner: but they were inspir'd with a certain undaunted Fury, that supply'd the place of bravery and made 'em resolve to spend the last drop of their Blood in the defence of their Coun-
treys.

The Administrator having assembl'd all his Forces, march'd straight towards the King of *Denmark*, who fearing to be enclos'd betwixt the *Swedish* Army and the City, rais'd the Siege, and retir'd to his Ships. But the *Swedes* taking advantage of the motion his Troops were oblig'd to make in order to their Retreat, charg'd 'em so vigorously, that the Rear of the *Danish* Army was almost entirely defeated. They fled to the shore with so much
precip-

1518. precipitation and disorder, that the greatest part of 'em were cut to pieces; and many of those who escap'd the Fury of the pursuers were drown'd in attempting to swim to their Vessels. The *Swedes* made themselves masters of all the Baggage, and took above Three hundred Prisoners, who for the most part were Officers and Persons of note that halted to sustain the shock of the Enemy while the Soldiers were imbarcking, and with the loss of their liberty, preserv'd the King himself and the greatest part of his Army.

But this was not the only Misfortune which attended that disastrous Expedition; for the *Danes* were detain'd above three Months in the Road of *Stockholm* by contrary Winds, and at last were so straiten'd for want of provisions that they were forc'd to make frequent Descents to supply their necessities. But they were always repuls'd by the *Swedish* Cavalry, under the command of the brave *Gustavus*, who was perpetually in motion, and oblig'd 'em to retire with precipitation to their Ships. His Courage and Vigilancy produc'd so good an effect, that the *Danish* Fleet was reduc'd to the utmost extremity: they had neither Water nor Victuals, and there was a great mortality among the Soldiers. The King himself was in danger of perishing, either for want of provisions, or by the contagious distempers that began to break forth in his Army.

To deliver himself out of so miserable a condition, he sent a messenger to the Administrator with orders to propose a Truce for some days under pretext of treating about the Ransom of the Soldiers. After the Envoy had deliver'd his message, he insinuated dexterously that 'twou'd not be impossible to change the Truce to an eternal peace betwixt the two Nations. The Administrator was not ignorant of the extremity to which *Christians*

was reduc'd, and knew that he might easily compleat his Victory by starving his Enemy: but either out of generosity, or in hopes of procuring a solid peace, which wou'd have secur'd him in the possession of his dignity, he consented immediately to the Truce, and sent several Boats laden with provisions for the use of the King, and all his Navy.

Christiern perceiving that the Administrator was extremely desirous of a Peace, imagin'd that this might furnish him with an Opportunity to make himself Master of his Person. He pretended to be overcome by that Prince's Generosity, and acknowledg'd himself extremely oblig'd to him for the seasonable Relief he had sent him. Some time after, he propos'd an interview on Board the Fleet, whether he invited the Administrator, in order to treat about a Peace; and for the security of his Person, he sent several of the most considerable Persons in his Army to the Court at *Stockholm*.

The Prince, who was naturally of a very free and candid temper, was easily perswaded to give him that satisfaction, but the Senate oppos'd his Resolution, either because they suspected that there was some treacherous Design hidden under so plausible a pretext, or were resolv'd to maintain the Honour of the State in the Person of the Administrator. In compliance with their desire, *Steno* sent back the Hostages with fresh supplies of Provisions, and a Message to the King of *Denmark*, by which he acquainted him that he wou'd have willingly consented to the interview on Board the Fleet, but that the Senate thought it more convenient, that the Treaty shou'd be manag'd by Commissioners from both sides in some place on the frontiers, that shou'd be mutually agreed upon.

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Christiern perceiving that the Administrator had escap'd the Snare that was laid for him, resolv'd upon another project to facilitate the Execution of his Designs. He dreaded the valour of *Gustavus*, and the authority of his Family in the Kingdom; and besides, he had a particular spite against him, for his Affection and Fidelity to the Administrator. He projected a Contrivance, to make himself Master of his Person, and of five or six other Lords in the *Swedish* Army, imagining, that by threatening to put these Officers to death, he might oblige the Administrator to consent to the Re-establishment of the Treaty of *Calmar*, or at least, hoping to create a difference betwixt the Prince, and the most considerable Families in the Kingdom, if he shou'd refuse upon any Terms, to save the Lives of *Gustavus* and his Companions.

In pursuance of this design, he propos'd an interview in the City of *Stockholm*, offering to repair thither with some of his Council, provided *Gustavus* and six other Lords whom he shou'd name, shou'd be deliver'd as Hostages for the security of his Person. And to make both the Prince and Senate sensible that 'twas their Interest to comply with this expedient; he represented to the Administrator, that they might come to a more speedy agreement by conferring together, than by employing Plenipotentiaries, who usually consume a great deal of time in debating about the Preliminaries of a Treaty.

*Lawrence
Sigonis, O-
laus Ry-
ning, Bennet
Nicolaï,
George Sig-
gnes, Hen-
ing Gadde.*

Thus the Senate was oblig'd to consent to a Proposal, which they cou'd not reject with any shadow of Reason. As soon as *Gustavus* and the other Hostages appear'd on the Shore, the *Danish* Admiral, follow'd by a considerable number of Officers advanc'd to salute 'em; and at the same time they

were

were furrounded by feveral Soldiers, disguis'd like Mariners, who had come afhore during the Truce, under pretext of buying Strong-Waters, and other Provisions.

1518.

Then the Admiral defir'd 'em to go in his Boat to falute the King, who was coming to fee the Adminiftrator. *Gustavus* wou'd have willingly declin'd the Complement, and waited till the King was landed, but he faw fo many *Danes* about him, that he chofe rather to comply with a feeming Chearfulnefs, than to make an ufelefs Refiftance.

Thus he and his Companions went on Board, and were immediately carry'd before the King, who commanded 'em to be arrefted and difarm'd, contrary to his own Promife, and to the Law of Nations. Afterwards he fent word to the Adminiftrator, that he wou'd order 'em to be Beheaded as bels and Excommunicated Perfons, if he would not immediately confent to reftore the Arch-Bifhop, and Reeftablifh the Treaty of *Calmar*. *Steno* was fo incens'd at fo bafe a piece of Treachery, that he mann'd immediately all the Boats and Ships in the Harbour. The Noblemen who were then in the City, and efpecially the Friends and Relations of the Prifoners, leap'd into the firft Boats they cou'd meet with. The Prince himfelf went on Board a Frigat, which he found ready fitted, and fet Sail with his little Fleet, refolving with thefe Boats to attack the *Danifh* Men of War, and either to releafe the Hoftages, or perifh in the Attempt: But he cou'd not find his Enemies, who had taken the advantage of a favourable Gale that began to blow fome hours before, and fet Sail for *Denmark*.

*David Cey-
traut*, lib.
7. p. 200.
Laccen. l. 4.
p. 156. E-
dit. *Upfal-
falien*. 79-
ann. *Ma-
nus*, l. 23.
p. 780. *O-
laus Mig-
nus*, lib.
16. p. 289.
Edit. *Lug-
dan*.

King

1518. King *Christiern* left no means unattempted to corrupt the Fidelity of *Gustavus* and his Companions: but they resisted with equal steddiness and courage all his Promises and Threats, and cou'd neither be scar'd nor flatter'd into a Compliance with his desires. Their Resolution and Constancy had almost cost 'em their Lives; for the King finding that he cou'd not gain 'em, and dreading the Courage and Indignation of *Gustavus*, if he shou'd be oblig'd to release him, gave secret orders to put 'em to Death. But the *Danish* Officer whom he entrusted with that Commission, abhorring so barbarous an Action, and fearing perhaps the law of Retaliation; if by the chance of War, he shou'd fall into the Hands of the *Suedes*, took the Liberty to tell his Master, that the Death of these Lords wou'd be prejudicial to his Interest, whereas by detaining 'em Prisoners, he might keep their Relations in awe. These Considerations made so great an Impression upon the King, that he contented himself with imprisoning 'em in the Castle of *Copenhagen*, where they were so cruelly treated by his Order, that some of 'em ended their Days in that miserable Condition.

Eric Banner, a *Danish* Lord, pitying the hard fate of *Gustavus*, who was his Kinsman, begg'd him of the King, upon his parole of Honour, and that he might the more easily obtain a Suit of that Nature, from that jealous and diffident Prince; he assur'd him, that the only reason that made him wish to have that young Lord in his House, was, that he might have an opportunity to gain so considerable a Friend to his Majesty. That Consideration prevail'd with *Christiern*, to grant his Request; but on Condition that he shou'd carry his Prisoner to the Castle of *Celo* in *Futland*, of which he was Governour, and shou'd pay 6000 Crowns of Gold for

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for his Ransom, if he shou'd suffer him to escape,
or cou'd not produce him upon Demand.


1518.



The Generous *Banner* thought no Conditions too hard to save the Life of his Kinsman, which he believ'd, was not secure in the Castle of *Copenhagen*. He carry'd him to *Calo*, and endeavour'd by a kind and civil Entertainment, to make him forget the Misery he had suffer'd at *Copenhagen*. The good Mien, Majestick Air, and graceful behaviour of that Prince, produc'd their usual effect upon the Mind of his friendly Jaylor, who after some time, allow'd him the liberty of walking abroad, and suffer'd him to take the diversion of Hunting. New Recreations were propos'd to him every day, and it seem'd to be the main Business of the Family, to please him: But all the Pleasures he enjoy'd in so obliging a Society, cou'd neither make him forget that he was a Prisoner, nor give him the least satisfaction while his Confinement depriv'd him of a share in the Hazard and Glory of the War. His eager desire to serve the Administrator in the Defence of his Countrey; and at the same time to execute his just Vengeance on the perfidious Author of his Captivity, made him so uneasy, that the most study'd Delights serv'd only to encrease his Melancholy.

On the other Hand, King *Christiern's* Thoughts were so deeply fix'd on the Conquest of *Sweden*, and his Mind was so agitated with the tumultuous Motions of a disappointed Ambition, that his Spite against the Administrator was exasperated by the ill success of the Siege of *Stockholm*. He cou'd not forgive that Prince, for obliging him to make so disorderly and ignominious a Retreat, and cutting off part of his Army. He was both vex'd and a-

sham'd

1518.  sham'd, that he had publickly violated his Faith, and the Law of Nations, to no purpose, by detaining *Gustavus* and the rest of the Hostages ; but nothing afflicted him more sensibly than the daily decrease of his Party in *Sweden*. His Mind became a dismal Scene of Spite, Rage, and Shame, and in the heat of his Fury, he resolv'd to make a last effort the next Campaign, to repair all his Losses by the ruine of his Enemy, hoping that the success of his Arms wou'd in some measure justify him for proceeding against the *Swedes* as rebellious Subjects and excommunicated Wretches, without allowing 'em the Treatment which is usually granted to common Enemies.

He stood equally in need of Men and Money to carry on his Designs ; and to supply the last of these Deficiencies, he gave Orders to his Officers to seize the Legate *Arcemboldi's* Treasures, under pretext that he had laid out the Money he had rais'd by the Sale of Indulgences, on contraband Goods. But his Guilt really consisted in a Million of Florins, which he was going to carry out of the Northern Kingdoms, and in holding Intelligence with the Administrator. The King had heard of the ill Offices he did to the Arch-Bishop, and was not ignorant that he had oblig'd all his Friends to make use of their Interest with the Pope, to obtain the Arch-Bishoprick of *Upsal*. And from thence he concluded, that the Dignity to which he aspir'd with the Administrator's consent, was the reward of his betraying the Secret, with which he had entrusted him to that Prince, and that his Infidelity had ruin'd the *Danish* Faction in *Sweden*. The Prospect of so profitable a Revenge, was in his Opinion a sufficient Ground to excuse an open violation of the Law of Nations. He caus'd the Legate to be

secur'd with all his Effects, and that he might not be oblig'd to restore the Treasure he had seiz'd, or submit to an Examination of the Privileges, to which the Function and Character of that Prelate entitl'd him; he gave secret Orders to suffer him to steal out of the Kingdom, after he had been kept for some time in perpetual Fear of Death, that he might take hold of the first Opportunity to make his Escape. By this usage of the Legate, it appear'd that the seeming Zeal of that Prince, in executing the Orders of the Holy See, was only a Politick Contrivance to carry on his Ambitious Designs, which he endeavour'd always to cover with a pretext of Religion.

He imploy'd the Legate's Money in making new Levies, and impos'd heavy and unusual Taxes upon his Subjects, without the Advice or Consent of the Estates. The Clergy and Nobility oppos'd these Innovations, and positively refus'd to contribute towards the raising of the Supplies, under pretext, that neither the Taxes, nor the Declaration of the War, were authoriz'd or approv'd, either by the Senate or Estates. But their real design was to put a stop to his Ambition, and curb the Impetuosity of his Temper, for they were extremely jealous of his Designs, and perhaps were not less afraid than the *Swedes*, of the Success of his Arms.

In the mean time, he squeez'd considerable sums out of the common People, who are usually the first who feel the burthen of Taxes, and are seldom or never assisted by the Nobility and other Estates, who content themselves with securing themselves. He levy'd foreign Troops with the Money he had rais'd by these Impositions; he invited all the Soldiers of Fortune, and straggling Adven-

1518. Adventurers that would enter into his Service, and even preferr'd 'em before the *Danes* in the Distribution of Offices and Places, that his Arms might be lodg'd in the hands of those who depended intirely upon him. At the same time he prevailed with *Francis I.* King of *France*, to assist him with 4000 Foot, under the Command of *Gaston de Brezé*, the Prince of *Foucarmont*, and the Baron of *Gondrin*. Thus in a little time, he had the Pleasure to see himself at the head of a numerous Army, which made him equally terrible to his Subjects and Enemies. He conferr'd the Title and Authority of General on *Otho Crumpein*, who was esteem'd one of the greatest Captains in the North, and entrusted him with the management of his Designs, and the command of his Forces, not daring to leave *Copenhagen* at a time, when there were so many visible Signs of a general Dissatisfaction among the Senators, and the principal Lords of the Kingdom.

1519. *Otho* led his Army to *Westgetbland*, where he made a terrible havock, to draw the Enemy to an Engagement. In the mean time the Administrator march'd at the head of his Army, follow'd by Ten Thousand Peasants of that Province, who came voluntarily to his Assistance. He encamp'd at the entry of the Forest of *Tyvede*, having order'd a great number of Trees to be cut down, to fortifie his Camp and Trenches. *Otho* pretended to be somewhat daunted at the sight of the *Swedish* Forces, and retreated with a seeming Precipitation to the *Lake Vehr*, which was at that time cover'd with Ice, upon which he encamp'd with his whole Army. *Steno* was so transported at the sight of a Flying Enemy, that he was not master of so much presence of Mind, as to restrain the impetuous Ardor of his Courage.

He left his Infantry and the *Peasants* in the Wood, 1519! where they lay entrench'd, and march'd with his Cavalry after the *Danes*, whom he attack'd near *Bogesund*. His Valor and Example inspir'd all the Soldiers in his Army, with a Resolution to conquer or die. He charg'd at the Head of a Squadron compos'd of the principal Noblemen of the Kingdom, he drove back all that durst venture to stand the Shock of his Attack, and broke thro' their thickest Ranks with so brave a Fury, that he was just ready to taste the pleasure of so glorious a Victory, when one of his Legs was shot off by a Cannon-bullet. The *Swedes* were so dishearten'd at the sight of their General's Misfortune, that they began to shrink and give ground. The *Danish* General was too well acquainted with the Art of War, to neglect so fair an opportunity of snatching the Victory out of the Hands of a staggering and dismay'd Enemy: And therefore as soon as he perceiv'd their Disorder, he order'd his Cannon to be charg'd with Cartouches, and pointed at the *Swedish* Cavalry; and at the same time he brought up his Infantry, who made a continual Fire. The *Swedish* Cavalry having lost the Spirit that animated 'em, maintain'd a running Fight for some time; but at last fearing to be surrounded, they fled with the utmost Precipitation and Confusion. During the general Disorder, the Administrator was carry'd off upon a Sledge by his Servants, and dy'd of his Wound near *Stregnez*, as they were bringing him to *Stockholm*. He was extremely valiant; but his undaunted Courage was not accompany'd with an equal Dexterity in the Management of Affairs: In a word, he was a better Soldier than a Statesman, and fitter to command a Party, than to govern a Kingdom.

1519. *Otho*, who knew as well how to improve as how to obtain a Victory, gave Orders to his Troops to march immediately against the *Swedish* Infantry, and the *Peasants* who guarded the Pass of *Tyvede*. He imagin'd that he cou'd easily force their Trenches, and commanded the *Danish* Foot to attack 'em; but the *Swedes* made so brave a Resistance, that their Enemies were oblig'd to retire with a considerable Loss.

The General, enrag'd at the Cowardice of his Men, order'd the *French* Infantry to renew the Attack, and at the same time went round the Trenches, to see whether he cou'd discover an easier Passage, or a Place that was not so strongly guarded. In the mean time the Prince of *Foucarmont* advanc'd at the Head of the *French*, and was the first Man who mounted the Rampart with his Sword in his hand; but immediately after he receiv'd so dangerous a Wound with an Arrow that he fell into the Ditch. The *French*, as if the Fall of their Commander had been design'd for a Signal, attack'd the *Swedes* with so obstinate a Fury, that they made themselves Masters of the Trenches, notwithstanding an incredible Resistance; and while they kept the Enemy in play, *Otho* open'd a Passage in another Place. Tho' the *Swedes* were extreamly weaken'd and fatigu'd by the Length of the Engagement, and surrounded on all Sides, they continu'd to make a very brave Defence: the *Peasants* animated with Despair and Rage ran into the thickest Battalions, neither expecting nor desiring to live, and even willing to die provided they cou'd revenge their Death by that of an Enemy. They were all cut to pieces, except some who made their Escape in the Night, and fled to the Woods, from whence they return'd by Degrees to their respective Habitations.

The *Danish* General, perceiving that there were no Forces left to oppose him, pass'd thro' the Forest of *Tyvide*, and penetrated into the Heart of the Kingdom. There were no regulated Troops, nor *Militia* on Foot, to make Head against the Enemy; the People generally fled to the remotest Provinces; the greatest Part of the Senators shut themselves up in their Castles; the Administrator's Widow retir'd to the Citadel of *Stockholm*, with the two young Princes her Children; and the *Peasants* dreading the Fate of their Countrymen, took shelter in the Woods. There was no possibility of putting a Stop to the Carrier of the Publick Misfortunes, and retrieving the Honour of the Kingdom, but by proceeding to the Election of a new Administrator, who might have encourag'd and commanded the Nobility to make another, and more vigorous Effort, rally'd the *Militia* and scatter'd Troops, and oppos'd *Christiern's* Pretensions to the Crown of *Sweden*.

The Clergy employ'd all their Interest to prevent an Election, which they foresaw would be extremely prejudicial to the Interest of that Prince. As soon as the Archbishop receiv'd Advice of the Administrator's Death, he left the Monastery whither he had retir'd, and resuming the Authority which he had solemnly resign'd in the Senate, he march'd straight to *Upsal*, and made that City declare for the King of *Denmark*. The Bishops of *Lincoping* and *Sreghnet*, were always secret Abettors of the *Danish* Faction, but had declin'd siding openly with either Party, while the Event of the War seem'd to be uncertain, took this occasion to discover their real Inclinations. They publicly own'd the Justice and Reasonableness of the King of *Denmark's* Claim, and visited all the Places in their respective Dioceses, to hinder the Nobility from taking up Arms, flattering some with

1519. Hope of Reward, and terrifying others with the Fear of Punishment. They endeavour'd to persuade all sorts of Persons, that Sweden was not in a Condition to resist the *Danes*; that the late Administrator by disobeying the Head of the Church had provok'd the Indignation of Heav'n, and receiv'd the Just Reward of his Contumacy; that a new Election wou'd only serve to encrease the Guilt of the Nation, and expose it to utter Ruin, whereas 'twas in their Power to restore Plenty and Tranquillity by submitting to the Orders of the holy See, and concluding a solid Peace with *Denmark*.

*Eric Trolle,
Eric Abrahami,
Benedictus Caput.*

By such subtle Insinuations they gain'd three Senators and several Lords, whose Lands were most expos'd to the Fury of the Enemy. And under pretext of securing the Quiet and Safety of their Country, they persuaded these Lords to send Deputies to General *Crumpein*, to desire a Truce in the Name of the whole Nation, and to assure him, that in the mean time they wou'd take such Resolutions, as might be equally profitable to both Kingdoms, and agreeable to the King his Master.

The cunning General wou'd not absolutely deny their Request, but he took care they shou'd not have time to reflect upon their Condition, and upon their true Interest. He granted only a Truce for Eleven Days, and during that Time he requir'd that a Meeting of the Estates shou'd be held at *Upsal*, where he wou'd appear to acquaint 'em with his Master's pretensions. The Archbishop who by his Office was the first Senator, call'd the Meeting, and the Clergy us'd all their Interest and Rhetoric to persuade the Nobility and Commons either to come in Person, or send Deputies to the Assembly; but the greatest Part of 'em refus'd positively to meet in a Place that had declar'd

declar'd for the Enemy. So that the whole Assembly consisted only of the Bishops; the three Senators whom they had gain'd, and some Lords of *West Gothland*, who were scar'd into a Compliance by the Troops and Menaces of the *Danish* General. However the Archbishop open'd the Convention, which being intirely compos'd of his Friends and Creatures, was absolutely govern'd by him. In the mean time *Otho* repair'd to *Upsal* accompanied with the principal Officers of his Army, and requir'd the Estates to abolish the Dignity and Office of an Administrator, and to re-establish the Union of *Calmar*, in Favour of the King his Master. There was no need of using Arguments to perswade an Assembly that consisted of such Persons as were already engag'd in the *Danish* Faction, either by Fear or Inclination. They prevented the General's Demands, abolish'd the Dignity of an Administrator, and condemn'd the Memory of those Princes who had born that Title, as Rebels against their lawful Sovereigns. And they were even so zealous to out-do each other, in hastening the intire Ruin of their Country, that *Otho* was oblig'd to moderate their Ardor, least it shou'd be suspected that the Treaty, which he concluded with the Estates was only sign'd by Traytors, or at least by Persons whose Consent was extorted by violent Methods.

He promis'd in the Name of the King his Master, that the Laws and Privileges of the Kingdom shou'd be preserv'd and maintain'd; that all the Articles of the Treaty of *Calmar* shou'd be punctually observ'd; that the Prisoners, and particularly *Gustavus Ericson*, shou'd be deliver'd without Ransom; and that no Person shou'd be molested for engaging in any Party during the War, since the Death of the Administrator *Shanto*. Then the Archbishop conferr'd the Title of King

May;

1519. of Sweden upon *Christiern* in the name of the whole Assembly, as if his Sovereignty had been acknowledg'd by all the Estates of the Kingdom. He sent also Circular Letters into all the Provinces, intimating the Conditions of the Treaty he had concluded, and requiring all the People to submit to the Resolution of the Estates, upon Pain of being Prosecuted with the utmost Rigour for their Disobedience.

Afterwards *Otho* march'd with his Army into the remote Provinces of the Kingdom, to make the People acknowledg the Authority of his Master. He routed several Bodies of the *Peasants*, who could not bear the sight of their Enemies, without putting themselves in a Posture of Defence. Their Natural Courage was animated by all the Motions of Fury and Revenge; but they were equally destitute of Leaders and Fortune. After the *Danish* General had dispers'd the Rabble, who fought with more Impetuosity than Order, he detach'd several Party's; who burnt the Villages, pursu'd the *Peasants* to the Woods, and destroy'd a prodigious Number of 'em.

The Archbishop, to terrify the rest with the Fear of a Punishment, which the Superstitious *Peasants* dreaded more than Death it self, prohibited the Clergy to grant Christian Burial to those who dy'd in Rebellion against the Prince, that was Authoriz'd by the Holy See. The *Danish* General destroy'd the Lands and Castles of those Lords who refus'd to acknowledg his Master; and at the same time entertain'd those who declar'd in his Favour, with all the Demonstrations of Kindness and Civility. The Lords and Gentlemen, weaken'd by their mutual Divisions, were at last constrain'd to yield their Necks to the *Danish* Yoke, and the whole Kingdom was forc'd to submit to it's new Master. The People ran to meet the

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Conqueror, and endeavour'd to make their Peace 1519. on the easiest Terms. The greatest part of the City sent Deputy's to promise Obedience; only *Stockholm* and *Calmar* persisted in their Fidelity to the Administrator's Widow. *Otho* invested the first of these Cities and canton'd his Troops about it in such a manner, that 'twas impossible to relieve the Town by Land. Then he wrote to the King his Master, to acquaint him with the Success of the Campaign, and the Treaty that was concluded at *Upsal*.

The News of the Reduction of *Sweden* were *Novemb.* extremely agreeable to the Court of *Denmark*; but while every one strove to express his Joy for so glorious and important a Success, the King who was most concern'd in it, could not forbear discovering the Trouble and Uneasiness of his Mind. That Jealous and Apprehensive Prince was afraid, that *Otho* would make use of his Name, and of an Army that was wholly compos'd of Foreigners, to make himself Master of the Kingdom: And even his Fears suggested to him, that the *Swedes*, who were naturally possess'd with an implacable Aversion against the *Danes* would endeavour to bribe that General's Fidelity by offering to acknowledge him as Administrator. However he dissembl'd his Suspicions, and sent him Letters full of Expressions of Gratitude for the important Services he had receiv'd from him; but at the same Time to keep him in awe, he acquainted him that he was resolv'd to march to *Sweden* next Spring at the Head of a numerous Army, and that he would command the Siege of *Stockholm* in Person. Some time after he sent several Ships laden with Salt, which was very scarce and dear in *Sweden*, and order'd the General to cause it to be distributed *Gratis* among the principal Persons of every Village, that the *Peasants* might esteem them-

1519. themselves happy, in being subject to so kind a Master.

Gustavus was soon after alarm'd with the dismal News of the Ruin of his Country. He was extremely afflicted at the Administrator's Death, and concluded that the King of *Denmark* would take advantage of the general Consternation to make himself Master of the whole Kingdom. His Restraint became insupportable to him, tho' he was still entertain'd by *Banner* with all the obliging Tenderneſs he cou'd expect or desire from a kind Relation. The Tranquillity of his Thoughts was perpetually disturb'd with the most violent Transports of Revenge for the Death of *Steno*, and of a most passionate Love to his Country; and perhaps he had already began to form some ambitious Designs, which encreas'd the Agitation of his Mind. He was too well acquainted with the King of *Denmark's* Character, to entertain the least Hope of procuring his Liberty from that Prince before the End of the War, tho' to gain the Nobility that was made an expreſs Article of the Treaty of *Upsal*; and the natural Generosity of his Temper, would not suffer him to make any proposal to *Banner* that might seem inconsistent with his Duty to his Sovereign. And therefore he resolv'd to make his Escape privately, concluding that 'twou'd be no injury to his Kinsman, if the Ransom appointed by the King were paid.

Deceas-
ter.

In order to the Execution of that Design, he went out of the Castle one Morning, under pretext of hunting in the Woods, according to his usual Custom. As soon as he came to a convenient Place, he disguis'd himself in a *Peasant's* Habit, and in that Equipage travell'd on Foot thro' Byways, and in two Days arriv'd at *Flensburg*. Since no Man was suffer'd to go out of that City

with

without a Passport, *Gustavus* durst not appear at the Gate, or go before the Governor, for fear of being discover'd; but as if Fortune had design'd to favor his Escape, this happen'd to be the time of the Year, when the Merchants of lower *Saxony* come to *Jutland* to buy Oxen, with which they drive a considerable Trade. *Gustavus* offer'd his Service to one of these *German* Merchants, who hir'd him to drive his Oxen; by the help of which Disguise he escap'd out of the *Danish* Territories, and arriv'd safe at *Lubeck*.

As soon as *Banner* heard of his Prisoner's Flight, he pursu'd him with extraordinary Haste and Diligence, and overtook him at *Lubeck*. In the first Transports of his Anger he began to treat him as a Person, who by a base Action had expos'd his Friend and Benefactor to the Indignation of his Sovereign, and the Forfeiture of a considerable Summ of Money. *Gustavus*, knowing that these Reproaches were not altogether groundless, was so far from being offended at 'em, that he endeavour'd in the mildest and most obliging Terms to pacifie his Kinsman, and to convince him of the Innocency, and even Necessity of that Action which he blam'd. He begg'd him to consider coolly and impartially the Injustice of his Restraint, and the Injury that was done him against the public Faith, and the Law of Nations. He told him, that he himself was a Witness with what Patience and Submission he had born his Imprisonment, so long as he cou'd entertain the least Hope that the King of *Denmark* might at last be perswaded to do him Justice: and that no reasonable Person cou'd blame him for endeavouring to procure his Liberty, since even the Treaty of *Upsal* cou'd not oblige his implacable Enemy to release him. He added, that he wou'd never forget the obliging Treatment he had receiv'd at his House; and that he wou'd

take

1519. take care to send him the Summ which the King requir'd for his Ransom.

Banner was so fully convinc'd by his Reasons, and satisfy'd with his Promise, that he went home and gave out that he cou'd not find his Prisoner. The King fearing that his old Enemy wou'd endeavour to form a Party against him in *Sweden*, sent Orders to General *Otto* to make a diligent Search for him. But notwithstanding all the Dangers that threaten'd him, he persisted in his Resolution to return to *Sweden*, and to incite his Countrymen, to make a vigorous Effort to recover their Liberty. In pursuance of that Design he discovered himself to *Nicholas Gerns*, the first Consul of *Lubeck*, and endeavour'd by several Reasons to persuade that Magistrate to favor him with his Advice and Assistance. He intreated him to consider that 'twas the Interest of the Regency, to put a seasonable Stop to the boundless Ambition of King *Christiern*; that the Conquest of *Sweden* wou'd make that Prince Master of all the Trade of the *Baltic Sea*, and consequently ruin the Merchants of the *Hanse Towns*; and that the Inhabitants of *Lubeck* cou'd never reckon themselves secure, while the three Northern Crowns were united in the Person of one Sovereign. Afterwards he put him in mind of the Hatred which the *Danes* had on all occasions express'd against that City; and of the many and important Services which the Republic had receiv'd from *Sweden*. He added, that he was confident the Regency had not yet forgotten, that they ow'd their Liberty to *Eric Blesus*, King of *Sweden*, who deliver'd 'em from the Tyrannical Usurpation of *Waldemar II.* King of *Denmark*; and that their Merchants were oblig'd to the Trade and Protection of *Sweden*, for all the Riches they enjoy'd. And concluded, that he hop'd, that both Interest and Gratitude

wou'd prevail with the Re-publick to assist their Ancient Allies in the just Defence of their Liberty and Privileges.

The Consul was very sensible of the Reasonableness of *Gustavus's* Desire, and promis'd to propose it at the first Meeting of the Council: But the Regency, who were all Merchants, did not think fit to declare for a Party that had no standing Forces to support 'em, and were not in a Condition to put themselves in a Posture of Defence. These *Burghers* were only concern'd for the present Security of their Trade, and they were so afraid of incurring the Displeasure of the King of *Denmark*, who was Master of a potent Fleet, that they refus'd to grant *Gustavus* a Passage to *Stockholm*, where he was desirous to make his first Appearance. But it seems the Consul saw further, or was better acquainted with the Interests of the City, than the rest of the Council; or perhaps had private Orders to show more favor to that illustrious Adventurer, than the Regency were willing to own: For he told him in secret, that he wou'd provide a Vessel that shou'd carry him to *Sweden*; and at his Departure assur'd him, that if he cou'd form a Party strong enough to take the Field, the Regency wou'd infallibly declare for him.

Gustavus wou'd have landed at *Stockholm*, but the Master of the Ship, either in Obedience to private Orders, or because he was bound to another Place; set him ashore near *Calmar*, which seem'd still to adhere to the Party and Interest of the Princess *Christina*, the Administrator's Widow; or rather was kept by the Governor, till the *Danes* shou'd offer some advantageous Proposal to make amends for the Loss of his Government.

Gustavus

1519. *Gustavus* discover'd himself to the Governor, and to the principal Officers of the Garrison, who were for the most part *Germans*, and had serv'd under him in *Prince Steno's Army*; imagining that they wou'd have so much regard to his Birth, and former Authority, as to intrust him with the Command of the Town. He exhorted 'em to signalize their Courage in so noble a Cause, and to preserve that Fidelity to the Princess, which they had promis'd to her deceased Husband: He told 'em that he had run thro' all Dangers, that he might have a share in the Glory of a vigorous and honourable Defence; and assur'd 'em that they might confidently expect a speedy and seasonable Relief. But those mercenary Foreigners, seeing that he had neither Troops nor so much as Servants to attend him, look'd upon him as a lost Man, and were so far from submitting to his Authority, or engaging in his Party, that when he attempted to gain some Soldiers of the Garrison, they threatn'd so positively to kill him, or to deliver him up to King *Christiern*, that he was forc'd to prevent the Execution of their Menaces by a speedy Flight, and was even oblig'd to have recourse to his former Disguise, upon advice that the *Danes* who were advertis'd of his Arrival, had sent out several Parties to apprehend him. And fearing least so vigilant an Enemy might easily discover a young Lord in the Habit of a *Peasant*, he hid himself in a Waggon laden with Straw, and in that Equipage pass'd thro' all the Quarters of the *Danish* Army, to a Castle that belong'd to his Father in the Province of *Sudermania*.

From thence he wrote to his Friends, to acquaint 'em with his Escape and Return, desiring 'em to repair immediately to the Place where he lay with all their Vassals and Followers. For he hop'd



hop'd that by their Assistance he might be able to force some Quarter of the *Danish* Army, and afterwards to march to the Relief of *Stockholm*. But they were so far from engaging in so hazardous a Design, that even his Relations refus'd to entertain any Correspondence with him. That passionate Love, or rather fondness of Liberty, which was always reckon'd the peculiar Character of the Nation, seem'd to be quite extinct, and the haughty and untractable *Swedes* became the tame Slaves of their most hated Enemies. Every Man endeavour'd to avoid the least shadow of Suspicion, and contented himself with securing his private Interest, without regarding the Safety and Honor of his Country.

Gustavus disdaining the Cowardise of his Friends, resolv'd to have recourse to the *Peasants*, concluding that 'twou'd be an easie Task to inflame the natural Fierceness of the Rabble, who cou'd neither be engag'd by Fear nor Hope in the *Danish* Faction. He went about the neighboring Villages in the Night, endeavouring to gain the principal Persons, and at last ventur'd to appear in Public on Festival-days, to incite the Mobile to take up Arms against their Oppressors. But he soon perceiv'd that their wonted Fury was but too effectually cool'd by the late disastrous War, in which most of 'em had seen the Death of some of their Relations: And instead of offering him their Assistance, they told him in a blunt and clownish Manner, that they wanted neither *Herrings* nor *Salt* under the Dominion of the King of *Denmark*, but cou'd not avoid certain Destruction, if they shou'd make the least Attempt against so potent a Prince.

Gustavus was equally vex'd, and surpris'd at so unexpected a Disappointment. He knew not what to do, nor whither to retire: He cou'd not be safe

in

1519. in Sweden, but at the Head of an Army; the Danes were still in quest of him, and he cou'd neither continue long in one place, nor make frequent Removes without exposing himself to manifest and even almost unavoidable Dangers. At last he resolv'd, tho' with the hazard of his Life, to get into *Stockholm*, hoping that his Presence wou'd inspire the *Burghers*, and Garrison, with new Resolution and Courage, and that by making a brave Defence, he might prevail with the *Hanse Towns*, to send him a seasonable Relief. He left the Castle of *Refnas*, without acquainting any Person with his Design, and travell'd for some Days thro' By-ways, spending the Night in solitary Cottages, to avoid meeting with his vigilant Pursuers. But notwithstanding all his Caution, he was once in so great Danger of being surpriz'd, that the Enemy came but an Hour too late. So that finding it impossible to proceed on his Journey, without falling into the Hands of the *Danes*, he return'd by another Road, and in so pressing an Extremity, resolv'd to take Sanctuary for some time in a Convent of *Carthusians* at *Gripsholm*, which was founded by his Ancestors. But the Monks preferring their present Interest to the Memory of past Favors, refus'd to admit him, under pretext that they were afraid of exposing their House and Order, to the Fury and Indignation of the *Danes*. And therefore perceiving that 'twou'd be in vain to expect a safe Retreat, where there was so little Appearance of Generosity or Gratitude, he return'd to the Province of *Sudermania*, and retir'd to the House of a *Peasant*, that had been an old Servant in his Family, where he lay hid for some time, and sent his Host with Letters to several Lords, endeavouring to reanimate their drooping Courage, and inspire 'em with a noble Resolution to recover their Liberty

and Honour. But they were so terrifi'd and over-aw'd by the presence of the *Danish* General, and by the report he had industriously spread abroad, that King *Christiern* was ready to enter the Kingdom at the head of a powerful Army, that they durst not discover the least inclination to a Revolt. In the mean time, *Gustavus* comforted himself with the hope of some Revolution after that Prince's arrival, concluding that the severity of his Government would rouse the aversion of the *Swedes* against their ancient Enemies. King *Christiern*, long'd extremely to enjoy the Fruit of his Victories, and to awe his new Subjects with the sight of their Conqueror. He enter'd *Sweden* in the spring, as he had intimated in his Letter to the General, and was receiv'd by the Archbishop and the rest of the Prelates with all the joy that usually appears in the Air and Behaviour, of the Fortunate. The Archbishop especially thought himself oblig'd to signalize his zeal on this occasion, and to express a more than ordinary Satisfaction for the success of a Revolution by which he hop'd to be the principal gainer: For he concluded that as soon as the King had compleated the Conquest of *Sweden*, he would entrust him with the sole management of his Authority.

Christiern at his arrival solemnly ratifi'd the treaty of *Upsal*, and as if that Ceremony had given him an uncontroverted title to the Crown, he dispatch'd Expresses immediately to the Administrator's Widow at *Stockholm*, and to the Governour of *Calmar*, requiring 'em to surrender these two places. The Governor capitulated without expecting a siege; and *Christiern* without employing any other Artillery than what he drew from his purse, made himself Master of that important place, which was the most considerable Port in the Kingdom next to *Stockholm*. He conferr'd the Government of it upon *Severin de Norbi*, Governor of the Isle of *Gothland*.

1520. *Land*, and Admiral of *Denmark*, who insinuated him-
 self into that Prince's Favour, by expressing upon all
 occasions an intire resignation to his desires and
 inclinations, at a time when the Senators of *Den-*
mark, and the principal Lords of the Kingdom
 claim'd a Right to offer their advice to the Prince
 and even to contradict his Opinion when they
 thought it inconsistent with the good of the Nation.


But the Administrator's Widow express'd a more
 Heroical Resolution than that treacherous Gover-
 nor. She sent *Christiern* word that she wou'd ne-
 ver submit to the Destroyer of her Family and
 Country, nor comply with the Resolutions of an
 Assembly that was compos'd of Traitors and Re-
 bels, and govern'd by the Enemies of the Nation.
 The Courage of that Princess and the boldness
 of her Answer was a sufficient Intimation to *Chri-*
stiern, that the Conquest of *Stockholm* wou'd cost
 him dearer and require more substantial Batte-
 ries than that of *Calmar*. And therefore since he
 perceiv'd that in all probability the Garrison
 wou'd make an obstinate Defence, he advanc'd
 with his Army to invest the Place, and order'd
 Admiral *Norbi* to block up the Port with his
 Fleet.

He carry'd on the Siege with all the earnest-
 ness and vigour that can be suppos'd to animate
 an Ambitious Prince, who is just upon the point
 of compleating the Conquest of a Kingdom. He
 was day and night on Horse-back; he encourag'd
 his Souldiers both by his own Example, and by
 considerable Rewards; he went daily to the Tren-
 ches, and visited the most advanc'd Works; he
 shar'd all the danger and fatigue of the Siege with
 the meanest of his Soldiers; and, which was still a
 more difficult and laborious Task he curb'd the im-
 petuous violence of his humour, dissembled his secret
 and implacable aversion against the *Swedish* Nation,

and even caus'd the Nobility to keep 'em from taking up Arms for the Defence of their Princess, and the Preservation of their Country.

In the mean time, the Administrator's Widow made a brave resistance: The Soldiers of the Garrison animated by her Presence, and the Inhabitants encourag'd by the Success of their late Defence, repuls'd the Attacks of their Enemies with incredible Valor. But tho' they wanted neither Courage nor Resolution, they began to suffer extremely for want of Provisions and Ammunition; and the City was so straiten'd by the Besiegers both by Sea and Land, that they could not hope to be reliev'd, tho' their Countrymen or Allies shou'd have taken the Field in their Defence. The King of *Denmark* was inform'd of their Condition by some Deserters, and receiv'd the welcome News with extraordinary Transports of Joy. He knew that the Conquest of *Sweden* depended on the Reduction of the Capital City, and was still afraid that *Gustavus*, whose Residence he could not discover, shou'd raise an Insurrection in some part of the Kingdom, or perswade the *Hanse-Towns*, to make a Diversion in *Denmark*.

He sent a new Summons to the Administrator's Widow, to open the Gates at *Stockholm*; and to perswade her to a speedy Submission, he order'd his Messenger to represent to her, that her Obstinacy could not prevent the Loss of the Town; that he was Master of the whole Kingdom; that his Army was lodg'd at the Foot of the Wall, and only expected the Signal for a general Assault; that he was sorry she seem'd resolv'd to expose her self to the Disorders that are usually committed when a Place is taken by Storm; and that since the Convention of the Estates at *Upal* had by a solemn Treaty declar'd him Sovereign of the Kingdom, her Resistance could not be esteem'd

1520.  less criminal than an open Rebellion, especially since she headed a Faction that was excommunicated by the Pope. At the same time he offer'd to agree with her upon the following Conditions; that her Estate shou'd be preserv'd entire; that she shou'd still enjoy the same Dignity and Honours which she possess'd during the Life of her Husband; that the Prisoners on both sides shou'd be releas'd without paying any Ransome; and that the City of *Stockholm*, shou'd continue in the Possession of all its Privileges.

'Twas not without an extream Reluctancy, that the Princess condescended to hear so unwelcome a Message. 'Tis certainly the most sensible Mortification that can befall a Sovereign, when he is oblig'd to divest himself of his belov'd Power, especially when his Disaster is attended with this cruel Circumstance, that he must resign his Authority to his Enemy. However the Ambassador's Widow was so sensible of the hopeless Posture of her Affairs, that she was at last perswaded by her Council to treat with the King of *Denmark*. The Articles of the Capitulation were drawn by the Consuls and Magistrates of *Stockholm*, who took care to make 'em as advantageous to the Princess, as they durst propose in the present Juncture. Nor did the King make the least Scruple to grant all the Terms which they desir'd, well knowing that assoon as he shou'd be Master of the City, 'twou'd be in his Power to give what Sense he pleas'd to the Articles of the Treaty. Thus he sign'd the Capitulation, and was receiv'd into *Stockholm*, at the Head of 4000 Men, whom he left to keep Garrison in the Place.

Septem-
ber.

He call'd a Meeting of the Estates to be held on the Fourth of *November*; and appointed the same Day for the Solemnity of his Coronation. After

Afterwards he sent Detachments from his Army to the principal Places of the Kingdom, to keep the Provinces in awe. He sent back the General whom he suspected by reason of the Glory of his Victories, and his Interest among the Soldiers, and having entrusted *Norbi*, with the Command of the Army, and the Archbishop of *Upsal* with the Management of the State, he march'd with all possible Diligence to *Denmark*, at the Head of his *French* and *German* Auxiliaries, having receiv'd repeated Advices that his Presence was absolutely necessary in that Kingdom to crush a brooding Revolt.

He stood in need of all his Power, and of the Fame of his Conquests and Arms, to keep his Subjects from breaking out into open Rebellion. The People encourag'd by his Absence, and by the Necessity of his present Circumstances, which oblig'd him to remove his Forces; obstinately refus'd to pay the new Taxes, which he had laid upon 'em. They were generally dissatisfy'd, and complain'd against the Government; they blam'd him openly for invading *Sweden*, and gave out that his Army was beaten, tho' that Report was only grounded on their Wishes that it might prove true. The Senate, and principal Lords of the Kingdom were so far from opposing and suppressing so visible a Tendency to a Revolt, that they fomented the Discontent of the People. They hated *Christiern* for excluding 'em from their wonted share in the Government; and were incens'd even to Madness, because he seem'd only to assume an Arbitrary Power, that he might lodge it entirely in the Hands of an old *Dutch* woman call'd *Sigebrite*, who had neither *Birth* nor *Beauty* to engage his Affection, and yet, meerly by her *Wit* and *Cunning*, had made him one of the most desperate Lovers in the

1520. World. She govern'd him with an absolute and uncontroll'd Empire; her Pleasure was the Supreme Law, on which the Fate of the Court, and of the whole Kingdom depended. 'Twas as impossible to undermine, as 'twas dangerous to oppose her Interest: She gave, and took away all Places, Offices, and Dignities as she pleas'd, without regarding the Laws of the Countrey; and not unfrequently undertook the Management and Promoting of unjust Designs, on purpose to show the Arbitrariness of her Power. *Yet notwithstanding her Age, and other Defects, the deluded King approv'd all that she did, and seem'd ambitious to be reckon'd the principal Minister of her Pleasure.*

The quick Return of that Monarch from his victorious Expedition surpriz'd his murmuring Subjects, and broke all their Designs. They endeavour'd with all possible Care to conceal their Discontent, and to express a seeming Joy for their Prince's Success. He was receiv'd at his Arrival with all those Marks of Affection and Respect, which are the perpetual Companions of the Fortunate. His Ministers, according to the usual Maxims of Courtiers, who are always ready to flatter, and comply with the Humour, and Inclinations of their Sovereign, told him in a Cabinet-Council, that in pursuance of the indispensable Rules of Policy, he ought to secure the principal Lords of *Sweden*; that he could not hope to preserve his Conquests, without abolishing the *Senate* of that Kingdom, which they represented as a Body of Factious Persons, who upon all occasions assum'd a Liberty to controul and oppose the Royal Authority; that there was not one Member of that Assembly, who would not joyfully embrace the first Opportunity of a Revolt, to make himself Master of the Sovereign Power

Power under the Title of *Administrator*, which for several Years had been the Reward of the Authors, and Fomenters of a successful Rebellion; that he ought to rid himself of the Senators, who were formidable to the Crown, by reason of the vastness of their Estates, and the Authority they had over the People; and that he ought only to leave such Persons in the Kingdom, whose Ambition was curb'd by the meanness of their Condition, and who could not pretend to any higher Employment than Tilling the Ground, and paying Tribute to their Sovereign.

In the mean time *Sigebriete* made it her business to confirm the Opinion, and Advice of these flattering Courtiers, by representing to the King, that his Victory would be imperfect, and the Consequences of it doubtful and uncertain, while there were any Lords in the Kingdom, able or willing to dispute the Lawfulness of his Title; that the Senators and the principal Noblemen were implacable Enemies to his Authority; that he ought to secure his Conquests, and compleat his Victory by the Death of those who were in a Condition to oppose him; that to prevent all future Disturbances, he ought not to spare even those who were most zealous and active in promoting his Interest; that the seeming Friendship of the Bishops was only an Effect of the Ancient Emulation and Animosity betwixt them and the Nobility; and that those ambitious Prelates would prove the most dangerous Rebels, if he should give 'em the least occasion to suspect that he intended to curb their Authority, or exclude 'em from a share in the Government.

The inhumane Politics of this *She-Favorite* were extremely agreeable to the fierce and cruel Humour of a Prince, who look'd upon the Liberty

1520. of his Subjects as inconsistent with his Honour and Safety. He imagin'd that his Authority was essentially annex'd to the Dignity of his Character, without any Dependence upon the Laws of the Kingdom, and that his Will was the only Rule and Standard of his Government. These were the Principles and Maxims by which he regulated his Actions; so that he was easily persuaded to Sacrifice the Senate, and most considerable Noblemen of *Sweden*, to the Extravagancy of his Ambition, and to secure his Conquests by the Death of so many illustrious Victims. But he wanted a specious Pretext to justify, or at least to excuse so barbarous an Attempt; for he durst not without a plausible Shew of Reason proceed to the Execution of so many Persons of Quality, who had voluntarily submitted to him, and rely'd upon the Faith of a solemn Treaty.

Sigebyste advis'd him to commit the Execution of that inhumane Sentence to the Officers of the Garrison of *Stockholm*, who, under the Pretext of a Quarrel betwixt the Soldiers and Inhabitants of the City, might encourage the former to execute their Revenge, by an Universal Massacre of all the Persons of Note in the Town. But notwithstanding the natural Impetuosity of his Temper, he was loath to venture upon an Attempt that was clogg'd with so many Difficulties, and might probably be attended with dangerous and fatal Consequences; He consider'd that the Burghers of that City were numerous, and inur'd to War by the late Siege which they had sustain'd; that the Garrison might be overpower'd, and cut to pieces in the Heat of the Tumult; and that the Success of their Resistance might serve as a Signal for a Revolt thro' the whole Kingdom.

For these Reasons he chose rather to make use of the Pretext of *Excommunication*, and of the pretended Injustice that was done to the Archbishop, that the People might be deluded by a certain Appearance of Uniformity, and coherency in all his Proceedings, and that he might seem to be act'd only by a stedfast Zeal for executing the Pope's Bull against the Enemies of that Prelate. He spent some Time in *Denmark*, in contriving the most probable Measures, and giving necessary Orders to prevent the Commotions that might happen in his Absence; and before his Departure disbanded the *French Troops* that were in his Service. This was probably an Effect of his Complaisance to his Brother-in-Law, *Charles of Austria*, who not long before had obtained the Imperial Dignity; for the Soldiers were not only dismiss'd with all the Marks of Contempt and Disrespect, but treated rather as Prisoners of War, than as Allies, and Auxiliary Forces, to whose Valour he ow'd the best Part of his Conquests. They cou'd neither obtain the Payment of their Arrears, nor a Supply of necessary Provisions; nor wou'd he furnish 'em with Ships to transport 'em to their own Country; so that they were forc'd to wander about the Country, like a Company of stragling Vagabonds. Many of 'em were starv'd to Death, others were Massacr'd by the *Danes*, some were constrain'd to list themselves in the *Danish* Service, and their Officers were oblig'd to encounter with a Thousand Difficulties in bringing home the Rest.

As soon as the King had order'd his Affairs in *Denmark*, he prepar'd for his Departure to *Sweden*, that he might be present at the Convention of the Estates, which he had call'd in Order to performing of the Ceremony of his Coronation. *Siegebrise* advis'd him to carry Two *Danish* Sena-

1520.

At Francofort, June 20, 1519.

1520. tors along with him, that the Cruelty of his premeditated Attempt might in some Measure be authoriz'd by their Presence, and that the Blame of so inhumane an Action might be laid on these Ministers.

'Twas by her Advice that he made Choice of *Theodore* Archbishop of *Lunden*, and Primate of *Denmark*, and the Bishop of *Odense*, one of his Suffragans; the same to whom he had formerly procur'd the Bull of Excommunication to be directed, which Pope *Leo* the Tenth publish'd against the Administrator. They were intirely devoted to the Court, and were only respected as the Ministers of the King's irregular Passions. He plac'd a great deal of Confidence in the Archbishop of *Lunden*, who was a Person of mean Birth, and cou'd neither be reckon'd a *Scholar* nor a *Statesman*; but to make amends for these Defects, he was a most ingenious Contriver of new and refin'd Pleasures, and admirably well acquainted with all the Secrets and Improvements of that mysterious Art. He ow'd his Advancement, and the Favor of his Master to *Sigebrite*, who first brought him to Court to serve her in the Quality of a Spy, and afterwards rais'd him from the mean Office of the King's Barber, to the Dignity of *Archbiskop* of *Lunden*. And as he had the good Fortune to be supported by so powerful a Benefactress, he quickly became the Favorite and Confident of his Master, by furnishing him with a constant Supply of fresh and diversify'd Pleasures.

The King set Sail for *Sweden*, accompany'd with the Queen his Wife, and attended by all the Court. But *Sigebrite* declin'd the Voyage, either because she was unwilling to expose her self to the Satyrical Mirth of the *Swedish* Lords, who were oftentimes wont to make the King's extravagant Passion

Passion to his old Mistress, the Subject of their Wit and Diversion; or because that Prince thought fit to leave her at *Copenhagen*, to observe the Motions of the Senate.

At his Arrival in *Sweden*, he receiv'd an Ambassador from the Emperor, who came to invest him with the Order of the *Golden Fleece*, and to congratulate his Victories, and the happy Success of all his Designs. The Concern which the Emperor express'd for promoting the Interest of his Brother-in-Law, was too warm and zealous to be reckon'd merely an Effect of their *Affinity*, which seldom or never produces so strong an Affection among *Sovereigns*. 'Tis thought that aspiring Prince bestow'd his Sister upon the King of *Denmark*, on Condition that he shou'd declare him to be his Successor in the three Kingdoms of the *North*, in Case he shou'd die without Issue. Those who are acquainted with the Character of *Charles V.* will never suppose him guilty of neglecting to take the most promising Measures, to secure so important Branch of the *Universal Monarchy*. This was his beloved Project, the Object of all his Hope and Desires, and the Aciery Mistress whom he courted, or rather ador'd with so eager and lasting a Passion. And the same Fondness for that imaginary Scheme seems to have been entail'd upon his Family and Successors, till the Terror and Rapidity of the *Swedish* Conquests, and the fortunate Valor of their Royal Leader, rous'd the Emperor *Ferdinand II.* out of his Golden Dream, and instead of a vain Ambition to extend his Empire over of all *Europe*, oblig'd him to content himself with defending the Hereditary Dominions of the House of *Austria*.

*Gustavus
Adolphus.*
1631.

Christiern put off the Ceremony of receiving the Order of the *Golden Fleece* till the day of his *Coronation*, that the Solemnity might be more splendid and magni-

1520. magnificent: And in the mean time he took secret Measures with the Archbishop of *Upsal*, to execute their Revenge upon their common Enemies. The Result of their Consultations was, that the Archbishop shou'd appear in the Convention, and present an Address to the King, demanding Justice against those who depriv'd him of his Dignity and Estate. Matters being thus concerted, the King open'd the Meeting of the Estates, where he was solemnly acknowledg'd as the lawful Sovereign of *Sweden*. The next Day the Archbishop perform'd the Ceremony of his Coronation; and the King swore upon the Gospels, and the Reliques of the Saints, that he wou'd inviolably preserve and maintain the Laws, Privileges, and Customs of the Nation. The Senate, Clergy, Nobility, and the Deputies of the Provinces took the usual Oath of Fidelity to him; and the Emperor's Ambassador appearing in the Midst of the Assembly, presented him with the Order of the *Golden Fleece*, and in his Master's Name wish'd him a prosperous and successful Reign.

Novem
ber 4.

Afterwards, the new King invited all the Lords to a magnificent Feast, which he had order'd to be prepar'd in the Castle, as a public Mark of his Joy upon the Occasion of his Accession to the Crown. The Senate in a Body, and all the principal Noblemen who were then at *Stockholm*, attended His Majesty in Obedience to his Desire: The two first Days were spent in Entertainments, and all manner of solemn and diverting Recreations; the King receiv'd his Guests with all the Marks of an obliging Kindness and Familiarity, and the mutual Aversion, which had been so long fomented betwixt the Two opposite Factions, seem'd to be intirely forgotten and extinguish'd. The *Swedes* endeavour'd to lose the Memory of their Ancient Fears and Jealousies, and flatter'd themselves

elves with the Prospect of a lasting and undisturb'd Happiness; but on the third Day they were awaken'd out of their excessive Security in a most terrible and surprizing Manner.

The Archbishop of *Upsal*, accompanied with his Relations and Creatures, appear'd before the King in a full Meeting of the Estates, and publicly demanded Justice against the deceas'd *Administrator*, and all the Senators and Lords of the Kingdom, who forc'd him to resign his Dignity, and demolish'd the Fort of *Staque*, which belong'd to the Patrimony of the Church. The King declin'd meddling with an Affair, of which he pretended that the Pope's Commissioners were the only proper Judges, and desir'd the Archbishop to propose his Grievances to the Two *Danish* Prelates, to whom the Bull publish'd by *Leo X.* was directed, protesting that he wou'd only make use of his Authority to execute their Sentence according to the Bull, and the Intentions of the Holy Father.

Immediately the Two *Danish* Prelates, who were the secret Ministers of the Passions of that Monarch, requir'd and demanded, that the *Administrator's* Widow shou'd be brought before 'em, to give an Account of her Husband's Actions; tho' it was both inconsistent with Reason, and the usual Methods of proceeding in such Cases, that a Woman shou'd be made accountable for the Behaviour of her Husband, in the Management of Affairs of State, concerning which Persons of that Sex are very rarely consulted. However the King, without considering the Justice of their Demand, oblig'd the Princess to come to the Assembly. She appear'd before him with a modest Assurance, and at first refus'd to plead before the Pope's Commissioners. She put the King in mind of the Treaties of *Upsal* and *Stockholm*, by which he solemnly oblig'd

1520. oblig'd himself to bury all that was past in Oblivion, conjuring him to let her Husband rest quietly in his Grave, and to pity the Fate of a Princess who had nothing left but her Fears and Sorrow. But that inexorable Prince, with a seeming Calmness, referr'd the Hearing of her Defence to the Pope's Commissioners, under pretext that the *Arch-Bishop's* Complaint had no Relation to the Differences that were formerly betwixt him and the *Administrator*.

The Princess perceiving that the King was inflexible, and that she must resolve to defend the Actions of the Prince her Husband, answer'd at last with a great deal of Courage, that the *Administrator* besieg'd the *Arch-Bishop*, and demolish'd his Castle by virtue of express Order from the *Estates* and *Senate* of the Kingdom; that the *Arch-Bishop* was arraign'd and convicted of Treason against his Country, according to the usual Forms of proceeding in such Cases that were prescrib'd by the Laws of the Nation, and that his Sentence was still extant in the Public Registers, sign'd by all the Senators both Secular and Ecclesiastical.

Tho' the King was acquainted with all the Circumstances of that Affair, he sent for the Registers, and order'd the *Arch-Bishop's* Sentence to be read publicly before the Assembly, with the Names of all those who subscrib'd it: after which he went out, as if he had only withdrawn that the Commissioners might not be under the least Appearance of a Constraint. But immediately after the whole Assembly was alarm'd with the sight of a Troop of his Guards, who came by his Order to arrest the *Administrator's* Widow, the Senators, Bishops, and all the *Swedish* Lords and Gentlemen that were in the Castle,

The *Danish* Bishops, by virtue of the Pope's commission, began to proceed against 'em as Hereicks, as if the Inquisition had been establish'd in that country. But the King of *Denmark* being unwilling to loose time in examining and convicting those whom he had already doom'd to Destruction, and fearing least their Friends should make an attempt to relieve 'em, resolv'd to dispence with the Formality of a Tryal, and sent Executioners to acquaint the Prisoners with their approaching Fate. *November*

The Eighth of *November* was the day appointed for the Fatal Solemnity. In the Morning a Proclamation was publish'd by the Heralds with sound of Trumpet, prohibiting all Persons, in the King's Name, to go out of the City, upon pain of Death. The whole Garrison was in Arms, and there were *Corps de Guard* at all the Gates, and in all the public Places of the City. The Great Guns were mounted in the Market-place, with their Mouth's turn'd toward the principal streets; the People were seiz'd with Terror, and expected with a melancholic impatience the event of these unusual Preparations. At last, about Noon, the Gates of the Castle were open'd, and disclos'd the mournful Scene: A Troop of illustrious Victims, who for the most part were still adorn'd with the Badges of their Dignity, march'd out in a dismal Pomp, and were led by their Executioners to the Slaughter.

As soon as they came to the Place of Execution, a *Danish* Officer read the Pope's Bull aloud, as if it had been the Sentence of their Condemnation; adding that they were Executed by the Orders of the Apostolical Commissioners, and the Advice of the Archbishop of *Upsal*. The Bishops and the rest of the Lords begg'd earnestly that some *Confessors* might be suffer'd to assist 'em

1520. 'em at their Death: But the Inhumane King refus'd to grant 'em the last Comfort they were capable of enjoying, either to glut his implacable Rage with the barbarous delight of exposing his Enemies to Punishments in another World or because he was unwilling to treat 'em as *Catholicks* after they had been Condemn'd as *Hereticks*. Nor was the cruelty of his Policy less remarkable in the Resolution he took to Sacrifice his Friends, that people might not suspect that his pretended *Zeal* was merely the Effect of *Revenge*. The Bishops of *Strengnez* and *Scara* were known to be devoted to his Interest, but all the Faithful and Important Services they had done him cou'd not procure so much as a Mitigation of their Sentence: Their being Members of the Senate was their Crime, and their Signing the Archbishops Condemnation was the pretext of their Punishment.

John
Brach
Locc. l. 5. p.
203.
Olaus
Magnus,
an Eye-
witness.
Ziglerus
an Eye-
witness of
the Massacre of
Stock-
holm.

Yet the Bishop of *Lincoping* escap'd the fatal Blow; for as the Executioner was just going to cut off his Head, he told the *Danish* Officer who was appointed by the King to see the Execution perform'd, that he might find an undeniable Proof of his Innocence under the Signet of his Coat of Arms, which he had affix'd to the Archbishop's Sentence, and begg'd him to send some Person to examine the truth of his Assertion. The King being inform'd of his Request lifted up the Wax with his own Hand, and found a little Note which that cunning Prelate had slipt under it as if he had foreseen the Tragical Consequences of that Affair. He protested, in the Note, that he was forc'd to Sign the Archbishop's Sentence to avoid the Indignation of his Enemies who threaten'd to treat him after the same manner. This Politic Contrivance sav'd his Life, for the King order'd him to be set at liberty, to show

that he only design'd to punish the Archbishop's 1520. Enemies, and those of the Administrator's Party, who he pretended, were involv'd in the Sentence of Excommunication which the Pope pronounc'd against that Prince.

Then they proceeded to the Execution of the Lay-Senators, beginning with *Eric Vasa, Gustavus's* Father. The *Consuls* and *Magistrates* of *Stockholm*, and *Ninety four* Lords who were arrested in the Castle underwent the same Fate. Yet the King instead of being satisfi'd with the Death of so many illustrious Persons, was extremely vex'd, that some Lords, whom he had particularly inserted in the black Roll, had escap'd his Fury. He imagin'd that they lay conceal'd in the Town, and was so afraid lest they shou'd make their Escape, and so desirous to discover *Gustavus*, who, he thought might be hid in some House in the City, that to give a full Scope to his Vengeance, he resolv'd to confound the Innocent with the Guilty, and to expose the Town to the Fury of his Souldiers. As soon as they had receiv'd those bloody Orders, they fell upon the People that were come to be Witnesses of that dismal Spectacle, and promiscuously murder'd all that had the misfortune to be in their way. Afterwards they broke into the Principal Houses, under pretext of searching for *Gustavus*. and the rest of the proscrib'd Lords: The Citizens were stabb'd in the Arms of their howling Wives, their Houses were plunder'd, and the Honor of their Wives and Daughters was expos'd to the brutish Lust of the Soldiers. None were spar'd, but those who were protected either by *Poverty* or *Ugliness*: All the rest were made a Prey to the Rage of the Soldiers, who by the Orders and after the Example of their Inhumane Sovereign, strove to outdo each other in the wildest and most extravagant Barbarity.

A Cer-

Eric
Abraham.
Eric Jo-
hanston,
Eric Ca-
nut, Eric
Rining,
Eric and
Eschille
Nicolai,
Joachim
Brahe,
Magnus
Green,
Eric Ku-
sius, Ola-
us Beron,
Gunnar
Gallus,
Benedict
Erici
John Gud-
mund,
Andrew
Olai, and
Andrew
Erici. Con-
suls of
Stock-
holm.

A certain Gentleman of the *Swedish* Nation was so sensibly touch'd with the moving sight of so many deplorable Objects, that he cou'd not restrain the Impetuosity of his Grief, nor behold such a Scene of Horror without bewailing the Misery of his Country. The furious King was so enrag'd at those Marks of Compassion which his guilty Conscience interpreted as secret Reproaches of his Cruelty, that he commanded the Unfortunate Mourner to be fasten'd to a Gibbet. His Privy Members were cut off, his Belly ript up, and his Heart pluck'd out, as if *Pity* and *Compassion* had been the foulest and most Enormous Crimes. Afterwards the King pretending that the *Administrator*, by incurring the Sentence of *Excommunication* had render'd himself unworthy of *Christian Burial*, order'd his Body to be taken up and expos'd in the public Place among the mangl'd Carcasses of his Ancient Friends. He issu'd out an Order that no Person shou'd presume to bury any of these Bodies upon pain of Death; and wou'd have suffer'd 'em to lie in the open Place, as a terrible Monument of his Vengeance, if the stench and Putrefaction had not oblig'd him to command 'em to be taken away. But before they were remov'd, he cou'd not forbear going on purpose to take a view of the dismal Trophies of his Fury. At last he order'd 'em to be carry'd out of the City and *Burnt*, that even Death it self might not exempt 'em from a Second Punishment, which he pretended to inflict upon 'em as *Excommunicated* Persons.

Afterwards he ordain'd that the *Administrator's* Widow shou'd be drown'd, but the Execution of that cruel Sentence was prevented by Admiral *Norbi*, who under a seeming Complaisance and Resignation to all the Humors and Inclinations of his Master conceal'd a secret Pro-
ject

ject of high and ambitious Designs. He was per-
 swaded that so Tyrannical a Government could
 not be long maintain'd; he saw himself Master
 of a potent Fleet, Governor of the Isle of *Gothland*
 that lies opposite to the Coast of *Sweden*, and of
 the City of *Calmar* which was the second Port in
 the Kingdom. He plac'd so much confidence in
 his Power and in his Interest at Court, that he
 did not think himself oblig'd to set any Limits
 to his aspiring desires: He fancy'd that he might
 one day raise himself above the Quality of a
Subject, and lay aside the Title of a *Favorite* to
 assume that of a *Prince*. He flatter'd his Ambition
 with the secret hope of marrying the *Ad-*
ministrator's Widow, concluding that her Interest
 and Authority wou'd facilitate his Accession to
 the Crown of *Sweden*, or at least to the dignity
 of *Administrator*. And therefore to save that
 Princess's Life he told the King his Master that
 she wou'd deliver up all her Husband's Treasures
 for her Ransom. The King who was as *Covet-*
ous as *Cruel*, consented to recall her doom
 upon that condition, and imagining that she
 was extremely oblig'd to his Mercy for changing
 her punishment to a perpetual Imprisonment.
 He sent her to *Denmark*, with *Gustavus's* Mother
 and Sister, and the rest of the *Swedish* Ladies
 whose Husbands perish'd in the Massacre of
Stockholm. They were thrown into different Pri-
 sons, where they were very ill treated without
 any regard to their Birth, Sex or Beauty and
 kept 'em as Hostages for the Fidelity of the
 Children, and Rulations that they left in *Sweden*.
Christiern imagin'd that he had establish'd his
 Authority by this Massacre of all the principal
 Nobility, he thought himself too powerful, and
 too formidable to the rest of the *Swedes* to be a-
 fraid

1520. afraid of 'em, he chang'd the Form of the Government at his Pleasure, and order'd matters as in a conquer'd Country, he oppress'd the People with new Taxes, he threatned the *Peasants* to cause one of their Feet and Hands to be cut off, adding in a kind of Raillery, that a *Peasant* who was born for the Plow, and not for the War, ought to content himself with one Hand, and a wooden Leg.

He nominated *Theodorus* Archbishop of *Lundæ*, Vice-Roy in his Absence, and appointed the Archbishop of *Upsal*, and the Bishop of *Oldensee* for his Ministers and Councillors, advancing these two *Danish* Prelates, by his absolute Power, to the Rich Bishopricks of *Stregnez*, and *Scara*, without any regard to the Rights of these two Churches, which had a Privilege to choose their own Bishops. And he had also Interest enough at *Rome*, to induce the Pope to allow of the Intrusion of these two *Danish* Prelates, whose Hands were in a manner imbru'd in the Blood of their Brethren. *Christiern* at his Departure, gave Orders to spare neither Pains nor Cost, to discover *Gustavus's* Retreat; he set a Price upon his Head, and promis'd considerable Sums of Mony to those that shou'd bring him Prisoner, dead or alive, after which he return'd to *Denmark*, laden with the Curses of the *Swedes*, by whom he was styl'd the Northern *Nero*.

His Troops in his Absence continu'd the Barbarities, they had exercis'd in the Capital City, many Lord's were surpriz'd, and Massacr'd in their Castles by his Order, without laying any other Crime to their Charge, than that they were eminent for Birth and Courage; neither was the ordinary Pretext of Excommunication any longer made use of; it was Crime enough to be accus'd of being too rich, or of having Interest in the

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Province. The Vice-Roy swallow'd up in Pleasure, spent his Time in heaping up Money, by the Confiscation of the Goods and Estates of those that were daily out-law'd; The chief Officers of his Army ravag'd the Provinces, every ones Troop being independent and separate, without any Order or Discipline; and among so many different Interests, and so little Subjection, they thought of nothing else but pillaging and oppressing the People.

The Nobility terrify'd with so many Massacres; and not well united among themselves, destitute of a Head, Money and Forces, were oblig'd to avoid the *Danish* Cruelty, to submit to the Archbishop: So that every one strove to court this Prelate, and every one would be thought to have done it always. It seem'd as if all the *Swedish* Gentry had perish'd in the Massacre of *Stockholm*, for no Body would acknowledge that they had serv'd in the Administrator's Army, the greater Part of the Nobility were glad to be employ'd in the Vice Roy's Troops, as a secure *Asylum*: And the Calamities of *Sweden* were so great, that even their Happiness was envy'd that were allow'd to be Soldiers, tho' to fight against their own Country.

Admiral *Norbi* feigning to commiserate this deplorable State of *Sweden*, receiv'd many Gentlemen on board his Ships, and into his Governments; and affected to treat 'em with all manner of Civility, with Relation to his secret Designs: Those that were not under his Protection, being uncertain of their Fate, and always between Hope and Despair, were expos'd to the Insolence and Avarice of the *Danes*; and it was dangerous for those who were not of the Archbishop's Party to be possess'd of an Estate: And whosoever had

1520. been his Enemies, were forc'd either to escape by Flight, or resolve to die: For this haughty Prelate pardon'd none, but destroy'd all his Adversaries under pretence of Sacrificing them to the publick Safety, but above all, he Endeavour'd to to make himself Master of *Gustavus's* Person whom he hated as a Kinsman and Favourite of the deceased Administrator; besides he knew very well that he could not better make his Court to *Christiern* than by Imprisoning or Destroying that Lord.

Gustavus during his retreat look'd about him on all sides to see if he could discover any thing that might favour his designs; he had privately sent to *Stockholm*, that old Servant at whose house he lay conceal'd, to inform him of the Occurrences of the State. And at his return it was that he heard of the Death of his Father and all the Senators, and the general Massacre that had happen'd in that miserable City; this so lamentable a piece of news did extreemly afflict him, the Death of so many Lords, having taken off all his Family and Friends, and almost depriv'd him of all means and hopes of saving himself. He knew not what measures to take, nor whether to retire, for he was encompass'd with *Danish* Troops, and knew very well that besides the great promises, to any that shou'd discover him, all those were threatned with Death that had conceal'd or shou'd not immediately deliver him up. So that he durst not stir from the place he was in; nor trust any of the *Svedes*, lest the great rewards shou'd make 'em betray him. He resolv'd in this exigence privately to retreat to the Mountains of *Dalecarlia*, hoping he might easily lye hid in the Woods with which that Country is cover'd, and imagin'd that it would not be difficult to cause

the Inhabitants to Revolt, being the last of the Kingdom that submitted to the *Danish* Dominion. There was not one good Town in the whole Province, and hardly any but small Villages Situated on the edges of the Forests, or on the banks of Lakes and Rivers, some of these Villages depended on the Gentlemen of the Country, but most belong'd to the Crown and were Govern'd by the *Peasants* themselves; the Elders in every Village supply'd the place of Judges and Captains, tho' these were neither more Powerful nor Richer than their Neighbours; the Honour of Commander consisting only in the privilege of Fighting at the head of the Troops; for the chief Power was in the hands of the Multitude, who Assembl'd on holydays, and took upon them to determine all manner of Affairs.

The Government durst not send either Troops or Garrisons into this Province, nor did the Kings themselves ever enter it, till they had given pledges to the Inhabitants for maintaining their Privileges; they manag'd with caution this Savage People who inhabited in inaccessible Mountains, lest they shou'd discover that it was in their power no longer to obey, and were contented with the Tribute of a few skins only from these *Peasants*; and for the rest, they were suffer'd to Live according to their own particular Customs which were very different from those of the other Provinces.

Gustavus in the disguise of a *Peasant*, set forward on his way to these Mountains, accompany'd only with a Country Fellow, who serv'd for his guide. He cross'd over the whole Country of *Sudermania*, then pass'd between *Nericia* and *Westmania*, and after the fatigues of a long and dangerous Journey arriv'd safe in that part of

1520. the Mountains of *Dalecarlia* which the Natives call'd *Daalfield*.

He had no sooner enter'd into the Country, but he was abandon'd by his guide; who robb'd him of all the money that he had provided for his Subsistence: He wander'd up and down in those dreadful Mountains, and amidst those Savages, destitute of Company, Friends and Money; not daring to own his Name, or discover himself, he was forc'd for a Living, and to be conceal'd, to hire himself for a Labourer and to work in the Copper-Mines, from whence the People of these parts have their chiefest Subsistence, he was always at work with the other Miners to get his Livelihood, and lay bur'd as it were in those Subterranean Work-houses.

Gustavus hop'd that the Misery of his Condition might serve at least to conceal him, and that they would never think of searching for the General of the *Swedish* Horse in so sorry a Habitation, notwithstanding which he was discover'd and known in this Disguise. For a Woman in whose House he Lodg'd accidentally perceiv'd under his Labourers Habit, a Silke Robe Embroider'd with Gold; which news was soon carri'd to the whole Village, and came to the Ears of the Lord of the Place, who either out of curiosity of seeing a Stranger whose Gentile Mien was much talk'd of, or rather that this disguise made him believe him to be one of the Proscrib'd, came to the Mines with intent to offer him his House and to contribute to his Safety; but was extremely surpriz'd when he found it to be *Gustavus*, whom it was not very difficult for him to discover, because he having spent his Youth with him in the University of *Upsal*: And though he was much concern'd to see this Young Lord in so miserable a

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Condition, yet he feigned not to know him, lest it might discover him to others; but as soon as he return'd to his House he sent for him by a private Messenger, and having in a most obliging manner told him that he knew him, gave him all possible Assurances of his Service and Friendship and entreated him to accept of his House where he might lye hid more securely than in the Mines, and in his transport of Compassion and Kindness promis'd him to cause his Friends and Vassals to take up Arms in his Defence if the *Danes* should attempt to offer Violence to him in his House. *Gustavus* accepted these Offers with a great deal of Joy, and at first liv'd with him as if he had no other design than to avoid the pursuit of his Enemy's, but at the same time employ'd himself in getting Information of the strength of the Province, and in finding out the Inclinations of the Inhabitants of the new Government.

His Landlord told him the *Dalecarlians* suffer'd the *Danish* Tyranny with great Impatience, that they publicly murmur'd at certain Taxes that *Christiern* had impos'd on 'em, that which tho' small in reality appear'd excessive and intolerable because they were new; and that the People detested the King of *Denmark's* Cruelty: He added that he doubted not but the *Peasants* would Revolt of themselves, if the *Danes* continu'd to infringe their Priviledges; afterwards he boasted of the Strength of *Dalecanlia* with an Exaggeration that is usual in those that would make their Country be valud: He told him that that Province alone was able to raise twenty thousand Men, that all the *Peasants* were born Souldiers, and by the help of their Mountains cou'd stop and defeat all *Christiern's* Forces; this discourse being sever-

1520. *W*ral times repeated induc'd *Gustavus* to Resolve to Attempt to make the Province Revolt, which he discover'd to his Landlord, and Conjur'd him to Assist in it, he represented to him that the Kingdom was Involv'd in the greatest Calamity's, that neither the Faith of Treaty's, nor the Submission and Obedience of the People could bound or satisfy the bloody Inclinations of *Christiern*, that especially it seem'd that this barbarous King had Sworn the Death of all the *Swedish* Nobility, that the Massacre of *Stockholm* was but a Prelude to the Cruelty and Outrages which his Troops Exercis'd in the Provinces, that the News was daily brought of the barbarous Murder of some Gentlemen or other, that it was more generous and a surer way to prevent and surprize the *Danes* than Cowardly to wait till they Invaded the Province and Massacred the People in their own Houses.

But this Gentleman terrifi'd with the Danger of the Enterprize, upon apprehension of the Formidable Power of the *Danes*, declin'd being concern'd in it, *Where are* (said he to *Gustavus*) *the the Forces necessary for carrying on so great a Design, and what Army have you to Oppose the Enemies Troops, which seem hitherto to have had some regard to our Priviledges, but will outrageously over-run the whole Province upon the first Motion we shall make?*

It seem'd as if Fear made this Gentleman forget what he had just before told him of the Strength of his Province and the Inclinations of it's Inhabitants; for he sought new Reasons to overthrow the former, and to oblige *Gustavus* to take other Measures; he enlarg'd with much heat upon the Politick Considerations, not so much indeed out of Affection to his Person as to justify that it was not for want of Courage and

Zeal

Zeal for his Country that he declin'd engaging in his Designs. But perceiving that *Gustavus* constantly persever'd in his Resolution to take up Arms and Publickly to declare against the *Danes*, he advis'd him to defer, at least for some time the Execution of his Enterprize, he told him that perhaps he might meet with a lucky Opportunity when the whole Province might of it's self be dispos'd to Revolt, that the *Peasants* had little regard to the Interest of the Gentry, whom they always look'd upon as severe Masters, that tho' they seem'd to pity the Fate of the Lords and Senators who perish'd in the Massacre of *Stockholm*; they had never hitherto discovered any Inclination to Revenge their Death upon their Murtherers; but that the least Attempt of the *Danes* to violate the Privileges of the People wou'd infallibly occasion a general Revolt; and that he was perswaded the *Danish* Army wou'd march to *Dalecarlia* as soon as they had compleated the ruine of the rest of the Kingdom. That then the *Peasants* wou'd be oblig'd to take up Arms in their own Defence; that he was resolv'd to let others begin the Revolt, and wou'd neither envy the Glory nor Danger of so rash an undertaking. He conjur'd him to wait patiently at his House till the People shou'd appear in Arms; insinuating that wherever the Revolt shou'd begin, the leading men of the Party wou'd always be ready to yield him that submission which they ow'd to his birth and merit; And concluded with advising him not to ruin so generous design by a preposterous haste in the execution of it; least, instead of becoming the Avenger and Deliverer of his Countrey, he shou'd only furnish the *Danes* with a new pretext to compleat the Destruction of the Nation.

1520.

Gustavus was too judicious and resolute to be either deceiv'd or convinc'd by his Landlord's Arguments; but tho' he was sensible that his pretended Caution and Policy was rather the effect of his Fear than Prudence, he cou'd not be offended at the Weakness of a man whom he look'd upon as an object of compassion. He was so far from suspecting that he was a secret Well-wisher to the *Danish* Interest, or that he was capable of betraying his Guest, that he did him the justice to believe the sincerity of his Affection to his Countrey: but at the same time he perceiv'd that the difficulty of the Attempt deterr'd him from engaging in it. And therefore instead of reproaching him with Cowardice and Pusillanimity, he contented himself with conjuring him to keep the secret with which he had entrusted him; and resolv'd upon a speedy departure to free his timorous Landlord of the Trouble and Uneasiness which he might suffer upon his account. He set out alone, and in the night, to avoid suspicion, and after several days Journey thro' the Woods arriv'd at the seat of another Gentleman, call'd *Peterfon*, whom he knew in the Army, and who, he hop'd wou'd receive and embrace his Proposals with more Courage and Resolution.

Peterfon receiv'd him with all the marks of an obliging Civility; and entertain'd him with that respect and submission which is usally so agreeable to great Persons when they are under a Cloud. He seem'd to be more sensibly afflicted with his misfortunes than *Gustavus* himself: he exclaim'd against the Tyranny of the *Danes*; and cheerfully embrac'd the first proposal which *Gustavus* made to him, some days after his arrival, to form a Party, and engage all his Vassals and Followers in the Design,

Gustavus

Gustavus was extremely glad that he had at last found a man who was not afraid to draw his sword in the defence of his Countrey; and endeavor'd by all the most winning Expressions of Kindness, and by the sure prospect of a sutable Recompence to confirm him in so generous a Resolution. *Peterfon* answer'd him with repeated assurances of an inviolable Fidelity: he nam'd the Gentlemen and the chief Persons among the Peasants whom he hop'd to engage in the Attempt: and some days after he went privately from his house, in order, as he pretended, to put the design in Execution.

But under the specious pretext of a zealous Affection to *Gustavus*, the treacherous *Dalecarlian* was contriving his Ruine. The hope of making his Court to the new King, and the Expectation of a large reward, made him resolve to sacrifice his Honor to his Ambition, and to violate the most sacred Laws of Hospitality by betraying his illustrious Guest. In pursuance of that base Resolution he went straight to one of King *Christiern's* Officers, and inform'd him that *Gustavus* lay conceal'd at his House. The Danish Officer march'd thither immediately at the head of a Party of Soldiers: he invested the House, and took possession of the Principal Gate which *Peterfon* deliver'd up to him. He concluded that he had done his Master a very important and acceptable piece of service, by securing his most terrible Enemy. But he had the mortification to find that he had taken a great deal of pains to no purpose: For *Gustavus* had made his Escape the Night before, and even ow'd his Preservation to the Wife of the Traitor that design'd to betray him. She was prompted by Rity, and perhaps by a more tender Passion, to
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1520. discover her Husband's Plot, and not only sent *Gustavus* away in the Night, but order'd a Servant in whom she plac'd a more than ordinary Confidence to carry him to the House of a Curate, who was one of her Friends. Thus by the Kindness and Discretion of that generous Lady, and by the Secrecy of her faithful Servant, *Gustavus* escap'd the Snare that was laid for him, and avoided the Pursuit of his Enemies, who could neither discover the Occasion of his Flight, nor the place whither he retir'd.

The Curate receiv'd him with all the Civility and Respect which he ow'd to his Birth, and to the Recommendation of the Person that entrusted him with so important a Secret. He was a sincere lover of his Country, and did not think himself oblig'd to follow the Maxims of the Clergy, since he had no design to raise his Fortune by aspiring to higher Preferment. He assur'd *Gustavus* of an inviolable Secrecy, and least the Place of his abode shou'd be discover'd by the Infidelity, or Indiscretion of the Servant that brought him thither, he carry'd him to his Church, and hid him in a Place that was wholly at his Disposal, and of which he alone kept the Keys.

He visited him every Day, and by degrees began to feel a secret and resittleless Inclination to love and esteem him; which was the usual Effect of the Presence and Conversation of that young Lord. Nor did the generous Curate content himself with expressing his Affection to *Gustavus's* Person; he approv'd his Resolution, and encourag'd him to undertake the great Attempt, assuring him that he wou'd employ all his Interest in the Village, and engage all his Acquaintances in other Places, to carry on the Design with the utmost Vigor and Diligence. But at the same

same time he acknowledg'd that he cou'd neither advise him to desire the Assistance, nor rely upon the Fidelity of the *Dalecarlian* Gentlemen. 1520.

He inform'd him that the Nobility and Gentry of that Province, contented themselves with a secure Enjoyment of their Estates, and the independent Authority they assum'd in their inaccessible Mountains; that they neither thought themselves concern'd in the Motions and Revolutions of the Court, nor regarded the public Interest of the Nation; that they were seldom willing, and sometimes unable to make their Vassals take up Arms; and that they wou'd hardly be perswaded to engage in a War, since it either depriv'd 'em of their principal Riches, which consisted in the Number of their Followers, or made the *Peasants* less tractable after their Return, and more apt to revolt against their Masters. And therefore he concluded, that 'twou'd be his best and safest Method, to apply himself immediately to the *Peasants*, assuring him that he might expect a more vigorous and effectual Assistance from 'em, if they shou'd take up Arms, and declare for him of their own accord, than if the Villages were only engag'd by the Authority of their respective Lords.

After they had consulted together about the most proper Expedients, to put their Design in Execution, they agreed that 'twou'd be highly conducive to the Success of the intended Enterprize, to prepossess the minds of the *Peasants*, and prepare 'em for an Insurrection, by giving out that the *Danes* were just ready to enter into the Province to levy new Taxes and Impositions. The Curate undertook to spread the Report, and assur'd *Gustavus* that he wou'd shortly make it the Publick News of the Country, by the joint

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1520. Assistance of the rest of the Curates in that District, who for the most part were either his Relations or Correspondents. Afterwards he advis'd him to go to *Mora*, a populous Diocese or Parish, about Twelve Swedish Leagues in Compass; where every Year during the *Christmass-Holy-days* there was an extraordinary Concourse of *Peasants*, from all the neighboring Villages. He told him that he cou'd neither expect nor desire a more favorable Opportunity to propose his Design to the *Peasants*, who were never bolder, nor more easily perswaded to revolt than in such Public Assemblies, where they have a full View of their Numbers and Strength. And in the mean time he promis'd to secure and engage the principal and leading Persons that he might not be in any Danger, tho' the Croud shou'd reject his Proposals.

In pursuance of the Curate's advice, *Gustava* went to *Mora* on the day appointed, where he found the *Peasants* already acquainted with his design to make 'em a visit, and expecting with impatience to see a Man of whose merit and valor they had receiv'd so advantageous a Character, one that was equally illustrious both for his Birth and Courage, and had acquir'd more Glory by *Christiern's* hatred than by the Favor of *Steno*. He laid aside his usual Habit, and took care that his Dress shou'd be suitable to his Quality, to engage the attention of the People, who are apt to be dazzl'd with the external marks of Grandeur. Afterwards he appear'd in the Assembly with a certain Noble Fierceness in his Air, which was somewhat allay'd and soften'd by a mixture of Tendernefs and Grief for the Death of his Father and all the rest of the Senate. And that Majestic sorrow, which

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the admiring Multitude observ'd in his Countenance and actions, inspir'd 'em at the same time with a submissive respect and a tender and affectionate Compassion.

After he had entertain'd 'em with a general but lively description of the deplorable and almost hopeless condition of their native Countrey; he represented to 'em, with a pathetic and moving Eloquence, that the Senators and principal Lords of the Kingdom were Barbarously Massacred by *Christern's* Order; that by the same Prince's Command the Magistrates of *Stockholm* were put to Death and the greatest part of the Citizens Murder'd in their Houses; that afterwards he dispers'd his Army into the several Provinces, that they might the sooner compleat the Destruction of the Kingdom; that he was resolv'd to secure his Authority by the Death of all those, whether Noble, or Ignoble, who were either able or willing to undertake the Defence of their Country; that he was particularly incens'd against the *Dalecarlians*, whose Valor and Courage had made him tremble so often during the Reign of the late Administrator; that consequently they had all the reason in the World to expect the most inhumane Treatment from a treacherous and cruel Prince, that wou'd never forgive 'em so long as he dreaded their Bravery; that under pretext of putting his Army into Winter-Quarters, he was actually sending his Troops to disarm 'em; that they wou'd quickly be expos'd to the Fury of enrag'd Soldiers; that their Lives and Liberty wou'd be at the Disposal of their insolent and merciless Enemies; and that the only way to prevent their impending Ruine, was to resolve upon a vigorous and seasonable Resistance. That the *Dalecarlians* had always look'd

1520. look'd upon *Liberty*, as a dearer and more valuable Blessing than *Life*; that the Eyes of the whole Nation were fixt upon 'em in so critical a Juncture; that the World expected to see a convincing Proof, that they inherited the Bravery of their Heroical Ancestors, and the noble Resolution with which those Illustrious Patriots had always oppos'd the pretended Authority of Tyrannical Usurpers; that he was ready to sacrifice his Life and Fortune in the Defence of their Liberty; that his Friends and all true *Swedes*, wou'd join in so glorious an Attempt; that besides he had receiv'd positive Assurances of a considerable Reinforcement of the ancient Allies o *Sweden*, but supposing that their Forces were not equal in number to those of the *Danes*, Revenge and Self-preservation wou'd inspire 'em with a generous Fury, which wou'd easily supply that Defect; and that for his part, he wou'd rather chuse to die, with his Sword in his hand, than to preserve his Life by a base Submission to a perfidious and cruel Enemy.

The *Dalecarlians* answer'd this Discourse with Shouts and Exclamations, threatening to execute their just Revenge upon *Christiern*, and the *Danish* Nation: One wou'd have thought that this had been the first time they heard of the Massacre of *Stockholm*; the Discourse and Presence of *Gustavus*, had made so deep an Impression of Grief and Resentment upon their Minds. They swore to revenge the Death of their Country-men, and immediately resolv'd to disown *Christiern's* Authority, and to destroy all the *Danes* they shou'd meet, without Mercy. Not but that some of these *Peasants* were at first inclin'd to oppose this Revolt, under the Pretext of communicating their Designs to the other Villages; either because they

they were gain'd by the *Danes*, or upon a politic Account were afraid of exasperating a potent and victorious Prince. But the enrag'd Multitude rejected this cowardly Motion with indignation, so that the most violent, and those that declar'd for the War, were hearken'd to with a general Applause. Thus they unanimously took up Arms, and entreated *Gustavus* to command 'em, being charm'd with his graceful Mien, and admiring the Largeness of his Stature, and the strong Constitution of his Body.

But nothing confirm'd 'em more in the Resolution they had taken to follow that young Lord, with a full assurance, than an observation made by the ancient Inhabitants of the Village, that the North-wind continu'd to blow incessantly while he made his Speech to 'em. This Accident among those superstitious People, was look'd upon as an infallible Sign of prosperous Success, and therefore without any further Deliberation, imagining that the matter cou'd be no longer deferr'd without opposing the Orders of Heaven, which had so manifestly declar'd in favour of *Gustavus*; they immediately form'd a Body of four hundred Men, and out of that Number chose sixteen of the handfomest and best shap'd Men that were descended of the principal Families, whom they presented to *Gustavus*, to attend upon his Person, as Life-guards, and to serve as a Mark or Badge of the Authority, which they had so lately conferr'd upon him.

Gustavus resolving to take advantage of their Heat and Eagerness, lead 'em directly against the Governour of the Province, for 'twas his interest to prevent that Officer, and to make him incapable of opposing the Revolt of the other Villages: In pursuance of that Resolution, he divided

1520. vided his Troop into several Bands, the better to conceal his March and Design, and under Cover of the Night and the Woods, arriv'd at the Foot of the Castle, with the *Dalecarlians*, who march'd thither secretly by different Roads. The Darkness of the Night, and the Surprize of so unexpected an Attack, favour'd his Attempt, so that the Castle was taken by *Scalade*, some *Danish* Soldiers that compos'd the Governour's Guard, and the most part of his Domestick Servants, who stood in his Defence were immediately sacrific'd to the Rage of the *Dalecarlians*; and *Gustavus* had much ado to rescue the Governour, who by Imprisonment suffer'd for his Imprudence in presuming to maintain a Post in a conquer'd Country, and amidst so fierce a Nation, without a Garrison sufficient for the security of his Person and Dignity. *Gustavus* permitted his Soldiers to plunder the Governour's Apartment, and several *Danish* Merchants were treated almost after the same manner, who since *Christiern's* new Government came to trade in that Province, so that their richest Stuffs became a Prey to the *Dalecarlian* Peasants, who dress'd themselves with 'em after their odd Fashion. They also kill'd the Officers that were employ'd in levying the new Taxes, which *Christiern* had impos'd. *Gustavus* seem'd to take no notice of their Proceedings, and perhaps was not offended at these disorders, which serv'd only to make the breach between the *Dalecarlians* and *Danes* wider, and their mutual Hatred more irreconcilable.

Tho' this Enterprize was not very considerable in it self, it tended to confirm the *Peasants* in their good Opinion of *Gustavus*, and they gave him Commendations so much the more willingly, because they took him for a Witness of the Cou-

rage and Bravery they shew'd on this Occasion. The Report and Success of this Expedition, within a few days caus'd almost the whole Province to declare in his Favour, for the *Peasants* came flocking from their Villages to joyn his Forces, some by reason of their eager and impatient desire to be avenged on the *Danes*, while others were excited by the hope of getting Booty, or by their natural Inclination to undertake bold and desperate Enterprizes.

Many *Swedish* Gentlemen and among others *Olai*, *Lawrence Erici*, *Fredage* and *Jonas* of *Nederby*, who were Outlaw'd by *Christiern*, and had fled for Refuge to that Province, repair'd to his Army as it were to a common Sanctuary. He appointed 'em in the Quality of Officers, to command these Tumultuary Forces who usually fought with greater Impetuosity than Order. Afterward he travers'd with extraordinary Diligence, *Helsingland*, *Medelpad'a*, *Angermania*, *Gestrícia* and *Bothnia*, caus'd all these small Provinces to Revolt which are for the most part destitute of considerable Towns, and secur'd 'em by the good Order he took in fortifying the Passages of the Mountains, which are the Principal Forts of those Countries.

His Army was daily encreas'd in his march by the concurrence of the *Peasants*, who came over to him in Crowd's, and oftentimes in spite of their Respective Lords: He abolish'd the Taxes which *Christiern* had laid upon the People, and establish'd Commissaries to receive the ordinary Contributions, which he appropriated for the subsistence of his Forces. Afterwards he dispatch'd private Emisseries thro the whole Kingdom, to dispose the Nobility and *Peasants* to appear in Arms as soon as he shoud enter into their Provinces. He

1520.

also gain'd by secret Negotiations the greater part of the *Swedish* Officers that serv'd in *Norby's* Fleet or in the *Vice-Roy's* Army: He left no means unessay'd that might serve to augment his Forces and diminish those of his Enemy, and did not make Preparations to enter into the Heart of the Kingdom, till he thought himself almost as sure of the Fidelity of all the *Swedes* that remain'd in the Army of that Prelate, as of the Zeal of the *Delecarlians*.

The *Vice-Roy* made it his principal and almost only care to heap up Money which he spent in gratifying his Voluptuousness; he aspir'd only to this Dignity in hopes of finding means to Pillage those People whom his Master design'd to Weaken and Ruin, and he would never have undertaken the Administration of the Government, if he had foreseen that he shou'd have had to do with other Enemies then disarm'd People, that were not able to defend themselves: The Revolt of the *Delecarlians* was a very Surprizing and Mortifying piece of News to him, the *Danish* Forces that were left in the Kingdom were very much weaken'd for want of Discipline and by Desertion; he suspected the Fidelity of the *Swedes* who had declar'd for him or were employ'd in his Army; nor did he place much Confidence in the Assistance of the Auxiliary and Foreign Troops, who for the most part in Civil Wars are always ready to change their Masters, when they meet with more advantageous Proposals. The Valour of *Gustavus* was formidable to him, he dreaded the Courage and Resentment of that Young Lord; but he was yet more afraid of *Christiern's* Indignation, as being a Prince whose Displeasure was extremely terrible, and who usually punish'd the Unfortunate, with as much severity as the Guilt.

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He dispatch'd a Courier to that Prince to give him an Account of the Revolt of the Northern Provinces; and at the same time recall'd those Troops that were dispers'd in different parts of the Kingdom. The *Danes* obey'd their Orders, tho not without a secret Reluctancy to leave those Places, where they enrich'd themselves at the People's cost, and committed all manner of Disorders with Impunity. But the greater part of the Auxiliary Forces refus'd to take the Field under pretext of the want of their Pay. They made themselves Masters of the Towns and Castles, where they were in Garrison, and shut themselves up in those Places, not so much to defend and keep 'em for the King of *Denmark*, as on purpose to retain 'em as Pledges for the payment of their Arrears; and to obtain more advantageous Terms from the Victorious Party.

It was with no small Trouble and Vexation that *Christiern* heard of the Transactions in *Sweden*; he did not find himself in a condition to go into that Kingdom, and cou'd not spare the Forces he had in *Denmark*. The whole Realm was full of Disaffected Persons, for that Prince who was grown more cruel since the Massacre at *Stockholm* observ'd no Measures with his Subjects; he indifferently exercis'd his Authority on the Lives and Estates of the *Danes*, without any respect to the Dignity of the Persons, or to the Laws and Priviledges of the Country; he had caus'd several Gentlemen to be put to death without any Formality, and on very weak Surmises, and he had no less offended the Bishops and the whole body of the Clergy by the Praises he publicly bestow'd on *Luther* who under colour of blaming the Abuses that were committed in *Germany* in the publication of Indulgences openly Condemn'd the Wealth

1520. Wealth which the Bishops enjoy'd and the Temporal Power they assum'd.

The Court of *Rome* usually employ'd the *Augustine Fryars* to publish Indulgences in *Saxony*, by which they reap'd no small profit, and which procur'd 'em a great Authority in that Country. The *Jacobins* under the Pontificate of *Leo* the X. got this Commission from 'em: These *Monks* to shew their Zeal in this new employment, and perhaps to inhance the income of their Mission, cry'd up in their Sermons the vertues and efficacy of Indulgences, in which they us'd certain Expressions that were not at all agreeable either to the design of the Church, or to the intent of the Bull that Authoriz'd 'em. Besides, these Collectors led a Life not over Regular; 'tis said they kept their Offices in Taverns, and often spent there in Feasting what was the product of the people's Zeal, and what good mens Devotion made em spare even from their necessary occasions.

Martin Luther, of the Order of *St. Austin*, Doctor and Professor in the University of *Witemberg*, pretended to be mov'd with these disorders, but in reality desirous to revenge his Brethren, began in his Sermons to fly out into sharp invectives against the bad use these Collectors made of their Authority. He was a great Scholar and an Eloquent Orator, hasty, daring and headstrong, conceited with his own Learning and Sentiments, and over fond of that glory which is acquir'd by broaching new Opinions; undaunted, and so obstinate as never to retract what he had once affirm'd. He contenttd himself at first with preaching against the unedifying manner of bestowing these extraordinary Favours; but exasperated by the Affronts and Threats of the *Jacobins* he look'd

ked back as far as the first Original of Indul- 1520.
gences.

He proposed new Doctrines on the Subject of Justification, of Remission of sins, of Penance and Purgatory, and at last spoke against the Popes Authority, from whence his adversaries derived, the proofs by which they would establish Indulgences.

He taught in his Writings and Preached in his Sermons, that we are justified by Faith alone, that Penance consisted only in a sincere Contrition, and that Confession was but an unprofitable Repetition of our Faults; that to obtain Remission of sins, 'twas sufficient to believe with a Lively Faith, that they were forgiven; that Indulgences were neither recommended nor ordained to us for our practices, and that they were equally useless in this World, and in the next; that Purgatory was but a Modern invention contrived by the Monks to cheat People out of their money; that the Mass was no Sacrifice, that it was of no benefit to the dead, that that, and all other Prayers of the Church were to be Read in the vulgar tongue; and above all that the Holy Sacrament was to be Administred to the Faithful in both kinds.

The Pope allarm'd by this new Doctrine, which seemed to expose the nature and extent of his Power to the censure and examination of every particular Person, thought to stifle so dangerous a Doctrine by condemning *Luther* as a Heretick, and even ordered *Jerom Alexander* his Nuncio to Solicit the Elector of *Saxony* to deliver up the Seditious Monk, that he might punish him as an Enemy to Religion.

Luther to secure himself against the practices of that Court, and to engage the Duke of *Sax-*

1520. *ony* and all Secular Magistrates to protect him; publish'd some new Writings as much in opposition to the Pope's Power as they were favourable to Sovereign Princes; he wrote against the Celibacy of the Priests and the Monachal vows; he taught that the only vows that were obligatory, were those of Baptism; he inveigh'd against Hierarchy, which he pretended was a Tyrannical Government; he exclaim'd against the corruption of the Court of *Rome*, and against the excessive Riches of the Church; he advis'd in his Books and Sermons all the Sovereign Princes to take possession of the Funds and Revenues of the Bishopricks, Abbys and Monasteries, unless when there was a Sovereignty annexed to the Bishopricks, and in that case, he wou'd have the Bishop marry, and not suffer such Persons, as under the specious pretence of Celibacy ingag'd their Allegiance to a Foreign Power to remain in his Territories; he wou'd have the Monasteries converted into publick Schools and Hospitals, and the great Treasures those Houses enjoy'd to be employ'd partly in maintaining the Preachers, Overseers and other Officers who should take care of the Poor, and partly by the Prince in supplying the Exigences of the State and the Necessities of his People.

These last Opinions gain'd *Luther* more Followers, then the first Propositions he had advanc'd, on the obscure and crabbed Doctrine of Justification, and of the merit of good Works. Many *German* Princes under colour of this Doctrine, depriv'd the Church of several Lands and Estates which they thought lay convenient for 'em: And the King of *Denmark* after their Example usurp'd part of the Demeans of the Archbishop of *Lunden*, as if he had already declar'd openly for the new Religion.

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The *Danish* Clergy, to be reveng'd for the Affront they met with under his Reign, and perhaps to dispose People to a Rebellion, gave out a Prophecy of *S. Bridget*, to this effect, That a King of *Denmark* should be expell'd out of his Kingdom, because of his Barbarity. Every one took Pleasure in applying this to *Christiern*; but he having heard of it, publicly made a Jest of it; telling his Courtiers, That that Bigot, wrote every Morning the Dreams she had had over Night, which she very piously took for Revelations, and affecting to make that Saint the subject of his Mirth, either out of a Spirit of Libertinism, or, which is more probable, to discredit by a seeming Contempt and Derision, a Prediction which whether true or false, might make a dangerous Impression in Peoples Minds.

However, since by reason of the general Discontent of all his Subjects, he cou'd neither leave *Copenhagen* nor dismiss his Army without exposing himself to a Rebellion; he wrote to the Vice-roy of *Sweden*, commanding him to march with his Army, in order to bring the Rebels to reasonable Terms, and at the same time he sent Word to *Gustavus*, That he would make his Mother and his Sisters to suffer the most cruel Torments; if he understood that he appear'd again at the Head of the Rebels.

Gustavus, despising his Threats, continu'd still to advance with his *Dalecarlians*, putting all the *Danes* he met with to the Sword, and even the *Swedes* who adher'd to them or to the Archbishop; and his Forces increas'd daily, during his March, so that in a short Time he saw himself at the Head of an Army of above Fifteen thousand Men, all animated with his Courage and Resentment, and resolv'd either to conquer or die. He march'd towards *Westmania*, while the Vice-roy, on the other Side, at the Head of his Army, advanc'd to the River *Brumbe*, with

a Design to oppose his Passage, and fight him, if he should attempt to pass the River.

No sooner was he come to the Banks of the River but he saw *Gustavus* appear on the other Side, at the Head of his Horse, and ready to force his Passage. He was so daunted at the Sight of so resolute an Enemy, that he retir'd with much Precipitation, and basely left a Post, where he might have fought with Advantage, either because he was diffident of his own Capacity, in giving the necessary Orders, and Commanding during the Heat and Tumult of the Action, or because he durst not trust the *Suedes*, who were very numerous in his Army. He retir'd at first into the Castle of *Westeras*, which was not far off; but not thinking himself safe while he was so near *Gustavus*, and fearing a Siege if he shou'd continue, he left the best part of his Troops to defend that Place, and, returning to *Stockholm*, shut himself up in the Castle of that City, where he began to indulge his Luxury, without suffering any Business to be brought before him, as tho' by his Retreat, and keeping out all bad News, he could keep out the Enemy, or put a Stop to their Progress.

Gustavus took all the Advantage which the Viceroy's Retreat afforded him; he laid a Bridge over the River, his Forces pass'd it without any Opposition, and continu'd their March towards *Westeras*, the Capital City of *Westmania*. It was equally dangerous for him to leave behind him a place of that importance, or to spend too much time in besieging it: Most of his Troops were compos'd of Countrymen, that were very unfit for this way of Fighting; he had neither Powder nor Cannon; the Place was defended by a numerous Garrison, little differing from an Army, and the Length and Difficulty of a Siege might have discourag'd the *Poleonians*, and ruin'd his Designs.

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To rid himself of this Trouble, he resolv'd to attempt that by a bold Action and a Stratagem, which he foresaw was impracticable according to the Ordinary Rules of the Art of War: He detach'd all his Cavalry, under the Command of *Lawrence Erici*, his Lieutenant, with Orders to advance behind the Woods, as near as he could to the City Gates; he left *Olai* another of his Lieutenants, with the best part of his Foot, behind a Mountain, near the Village *Ballunga*, and having commanded him to follow him slowly, he advanc'd with a Body of Three thousand Men, as if his whole Army had consisted only in that Number.

That Evening he appear'd in Sight of the Place, and immediately retrench'd himself near the Chapel of *S. Olaus*, with all the Care and Diligence of a Man that is afraid of being attacked, and endeavours to avoid an Engagement; which the *Danes* perceiving, and withal seeing the small number of his Men, send all their Horse to attack him. *Gustavus*, after a small Resistance, maintain'd a running Fight, to get into the Defiles, and insensibly to draw the Enemy among the Body of his Foot, which was advancing to his Assistance: The *Danes*, deceiv'd by this Retreat, which they mistook for the Flight of a routed Enemy, ran disorderly out of *Westeras*, to have a Share in the Victory, thinking to find 'em in Confusion and Disorder, so that none remained in the City but the Swedish Forces of their Party, and the *Danes* that were in Garrison in the Castle, whom the Governour would not suffer to go out.

Gustavus having drawn 'em far enough from the City, to give *Erici* an Opportunity to execute his Orders, made head against the Enemy: He took his Post at the Head of all his Foot, which was now got together, and turning about to his *Dalecarlians*, with his drawn Sword in his Hand, and a dreadful Look, which seem'd to threaten no less than a full Vengeance

for his Father's Death; *Remember, my Friends, cry'd he, the Cruelty and Avarice of our Tyrants, and consider that we must either conquer, or prevent an Ignominious Slavery by an honourable Death.*

The *Dalecarlians* having answer'd their General's Discourse with repeated Shouts and Acclamations, immediately let fly a shower of Arrows upon the *Danes*, and afterwards broke, with Sword in Hand into the midst of their Battalions. The Ground was quickly cover'd with dead Bodies; and both Parties enrag'd with all the Fury and Obstinacy that usually appear between two neighbouring and hostile Nations, when one of 'em fights to enlarge their Dominions, and the other to recover their Liberty. *Gustavus* seem'd to be every where; and at the same time that he charg'd the Enemies, as the meanest private Centinel in his Army, gave out Orders with that admirable presence of Mind, which is so rare and yet so necessary on such Occasions. The Fight was obstinately maintain'd for some time by the undaunted Valour of both Parties; but since People that revolt and take up Arms for the Recovery of their Liberty, seem always to be inspir'd with a more than ordinary Fury, the *Swedes* made such powerful Efforts, that the *Danes* were forc'd to give Ground, and to endeavour to regain the Walls of *Westerås*.

However, they retreated in good Order, and when they were charg'd by the Horse under the Command of *Erics*, who had intercepted their Passage, the Fight was renew'd, and by reason of the unavoidable necessity of Overcoming or Dying, was more furious than before. The *Danes* being attack'd on all sides, and animated with Rage and Despair, fought like Persons who took less care to defend themselves, than to assault their Pursuers, every Man endeavouring to revenge his Death by that of an Enemy. The greatest part of 'em were cut to pieces,

pieces, few were taken Prisoners, and the pitiless and bloody *Dalecarlians* put all to the Sword, without giving Quarter; nor were their Officers able to moderate their impetuous Fury.

The Horse, under the Command of *Erici*, pursued the routed Enemy so vigorously, that they enter'd with 'em into *Westeras*, by means of the *Swedes* that belong'd to the Garrison and were in the *Danish* Service, but declar'd for *Gustavus* as soon as they cou'd with safety. These Troops had no sooner enter'd the City, but they disbanded in the Night, and ran to plunder the Town with so much eagerness, that their Officers were not able to stop 'em, nor even to find a sufficient number of Soldiers to mount the Guard, and to take such Precautions as were necessary to secure their Conquest. They broke into the Houses of several Merchants that sold Brandy, Wine and strong Waters. And the *Dalecarlians*, under the Command of *Gustavus*, being inform'd that their Companions were so well employ'd, left their Colours, and in spite of their Officers ran to the Town, to get their share of a Liquor, which affords an enchanting Delight to these Northern People.

The Governor of the Castle perceiving this Disorder, made a Sally at the Head of his Garrison, to charge the *Swedes*, his Soldiers having first set Fire to several Houses on purpose to encrease the Tumult and Confusion: Afterward they enter'd the City with Sword in Hand, and without any opposition kill'd a great number of the *Dalecarlians*, whom they found for the most part Drunk and destitute of Arms and Defence. As soon as *Gustavus* was inform'd of so terrible and unexpected a Disaster, he enter'd the Town, and was enrag'd to see his Soldiers massacred almost in his Presence, without finding any that were able to oppose the Enemies: He commanded *Olof* to raise a Barricadœ in the high Street, and to

make Head against the *Danes* with all the Officers and Volunteers that were with him, whilst he himself ran through the City, to put a stop to the Pillage, and to rally his disperst Troops. The greater part of his Soldiers sculking in the bottom of the Cellars, and intoxicated with Wine and Brandy, fled almost with equal fear and precipitation from the presence of their General and from their Enemies. But *Gustavus*, accompanied with his Guards, went down himself into the Cellars, stav'd the Vessels, spilt the strong Waters and Brandy, and by this Precaution, which the *Dalecarlians* lookt upon as unjust and cruel, drew them out of these enchanted Places; at last he beat back the *Danes* into the Castle, tho' rather by his own Presence than by the Assistance of his Soldiers.

April. 29. Afterwards he caus'd the Governor's Pulse to be felt, to know whether he might be prevail'd with to deliver up the Castle upon Composition; but having found him resolute and unmoveable, he contented himself with blocking up the Fort; he was not willing to hazard an Attack, which perhaps might discourage his Soldiers; nor to begin a formal Siege, for fear of giving time to the *Danes* to rally. He only order'd Lines of Contravallation to be drawn round the Place, to hinder the Besieg'd from Sallying out, and to cut off all hope of Relief: He first took a Spade to break the Ground, and was immediately imitated by all the Officers of his Army; after which, the Burghers of the Town, mingled with his Soldiers, carry'd on the Work with so much Diligence and Vigor, that in less than two Days they rais'd the Entrenchments in some places above 24 foot high.

Gustavus had no sooner given the necessary Orders to prevent the conveying of Succors into the Place, but he march'd again into the Field; several Lords and Gentlemen, at the Head of their Vassals, met him

him on the Road, and join'd his Forces; and 70 *Swedish* Officers at once deserted the Vice-roy, and came over to *Gustavus's* Army: These Advantages were lookt upon as the beginning of a great Revolution, and the taking of *Westeras* seem'd to be the Signal agreed upon for the Revolt of the whole Kingdom of Sweden. *Arvide*, a considerable Lord in *West-gothland*, *Laurentius Petri* of *Sudermania*, and *Olaus Bonde* of *Nericia*, came to assure him that the Nobility and People of their Provinces, waited only for his presence to take up Arms and to declare in his Favor; and even those who were either with-held or over-aw'd by the Power and Neighbourhood of the *Danes*, secretly assisted him with Intelligence and Money; the Eyes of all the People were fixt upon him, and his own Merit, with the rigor of the *Danish* Tyranny, procur'd him the good Wishes and Love of the whole *Swedish* Nation.

Gustavus seeing himself at the Head of an Army, and of so potent a Party, resolv'd to undertake several Enterprizes at the same time, that the Fame of his Conquests might draw all the People to his Army, and that the *Danes* might be at a Loss where to employ their Troops. He sent back these Lords who came to meet him to their respective Provinces, with Detachments from his Army, which he gave them to begin the War, and to promote the Revolt and Insurrection of the People. *Arvide*, by his Order, besieg'd the Castle of *Wadstene* in *Ostrogothland*, *Laurentius Petri* the Town of *Nicoping*, and *Olaus Bond*, *Ortbro*, the Capital of *Nericia*, whilst *Olai* and *Erici* at the same time invested the City of *Upsal*. This Place was large and very populous, but almost destitute of Walls and other Fortifications, except some old Towers on the side of the Arch bishoprick. The Archbishop. who was Lord of it, had put a Garrison in it under the Command of a Governor, tho' rather with a design to shew the Inhabitants that he did not for-

take them, than in hopes of defending it if it should be attackt: The Soldiers of the Garrison had no sooner perceiv'd the *Dalecarlians* with Sword in hand descending into the Ditch and ready to mount to the Assault, but they abandon'd the Ramparts, after once firing, and left a free passage to the *Dalecarlians*, who enter'd the Town without opposition; and being reform'd by what happen'd to them at the taking of *Westeras*, they pursu'd the *Danes*, without staying to plunder the Houses: The greater part of the Garrison was cut to pieces, and the Governor in endeavoring to escape by Flight, receiv'd a shot with an Arrow, of which he died a few Days after.

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Gustavus having receiv'd information that his Forces were in *Upsal*, repair'd thither with speed. He took care to preserve the Archbishop's Palace and Goods, either to render him suspected to the *Danish* Ministers, or to gain and draw him to his Party. Afterward he sent an Envoy to the Consul of *Lubeck*, to notify to him the happy success of his Arms, and at the same time to put him in mind of the Supplies which he had promis'd him in behalf of the Regency. His Agent represented to that Magistrate, how much 'twas the Interest of that Republick, and of all the other *Hanse-Towns*, that *Sweden* should be always separated from, and at enmity with *Denmark*; that the Regency of *Lubeck* could never meet with a more favourable opportunity to settle the Affairs of that Kingdom; that *Gustavus* had already made himself Master of several large Provinces, and that he had compleated all these Conquests at the Head of the *Dalecarlians*, but that these Peasants serving for the most part without Pay, were also free from any Tie or Engagement, and that they were not ignorant that those who begin a Revolt, and undertake a War with the greatest eagerness, are usually soonest tir'd; that his Master stood in need of a Fleet to besiege *Stockholm*, and the other Maritim Towns of the Kingdom, as
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also of some regular Troops to carry on the War ; and that this Lord hop'd with these Supplies, within a little while to expel the *Danes* out of the whole Kingdom of *Sweden*.

The Consul of *Lubeck* gave an account of his Demands to the Regency ; but these Republicans found that their Interest was chang'd with the fortune of *Gustavus*. The rapid progress of his Conquests, his undaunted Courage and aspiring Genius began to disturb 'em, and *Christiern* on the contrary ceas'd to be any longer formidable to 'em by reason of his violent Proceedings with respect to his own Subjects.

But tho' *Gustavus's* Agent made little progress in his Negotiation, he had the good fortune to meet with an old *German* Colonel, nam'd *Stephen de Sassi*, who was one of those Soldiers of Fortune that make a Trade of War, and are always ready to venture their Lives for Gain, without taking any care to enquire into the Justice of the Cause which they engage to defend. *Gustavus's* Envoy treated with him in the name of his Master, and in consideration of a certain Sum agreed upon, a considerable part of which was paid in hand, the Colonel oblig'd himself to Land in *Sweden* before the end of the Month of *August*, at the Head of 1200 Men. *Gustavus's* Agent instantly gave him an account of this Treaty, and receiv'd Orders to continue at *Lubeck* to solicit that Regency to declare in his favour ; but he thought fit to acquaint him at the same time, that he was sensible there would not have been so much difficulty in prevailing with these Republicans, if he had not made so quick a progress, and if the success of his Enterprize were more uncertain.

Gustavus had not hitherto met with any Disaster, every thing having succeeded beyond his expectation : He was at the Head of a considerable Army, with which he had made himself Master of half the Kingdom, and the rest of *Sweden* waited only for his

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his Presence to declare in his Favour, when in the full career of his Conquests, he saw himself suddenly abandon'd by the greater part of his Forces; for the Peasants begg'd leave of him to be dismiss'd, that they might go and take care of the Harvest in their Provinces. *Gustavus*, notwithstanding the urgent necessity of his Affairs, could not refuse those People who serv'd him voluntarily, and to whom he was also oblig'd for all his Authority; and therefore he consented to their departure, upon the promise they made him to return with a Reinforcement after the Harvest, reserving only for his Guard and for the Defence of the City of *Upsal*, one Company of Horse and six hundred Foot, for the most part *Dalcarlians*, who were resolv'd to follow his Fortune, and never to leave him.

He resided at *Upsal*, which was as it were the Center of his Conquests, from whence he gave out necessary Orders thro' all the Provinces that had declar'd for him, and where his Lieutenants carry'd on the War in his Name: He endeavour'd, at the same time to divide and distract his Enemies by secret Negotiations, till he shou'd be in a condition to reduce 'em by Force.

The Archbishop was more especially formidable to him, by reason of the great Number of his Vassals and Followers; for he alone was capable of supporting *Christiern's* Party by the Reputation of his Family, and his Authority over the Clergy. He sent Letters thro' the Provinces, obliging his Relations and Friends to endeavour to retain the People in their Obedience to the King of *Denmark*; so that *Gustavus* met with, in the single Person of that Prelate, a vigilant Enemy, that created him more trouble than all the *Danes* together. However, he made an attempt to draw him off from their Party, and engag'd two Canons of *Upsal*, who imagin'd they had a great Interest with the Archbishop. *Gustavus*

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publickly granted 'em a Pass, under colour that they desir'd Leave to Retire to their Metropolitan, and at the same time privately charg'd 'em with a Letter, which was submissive, full of Respect, and proper to flatter the haughty and arrogant Temper of that Prelate. In this Letter he conjur'd him no longer to oppose the Liberty of his Country; and offer'd, with all possible Demonstrations of Sincerity to restore his City of *Upsal*, and his whole Estate, without exacting any other Conditions than to engage in his Party, and to be their Head; assuring him withal, That every one would be ready to obey his Orders with Delight, and that for his own part, he should only reserve to himself the Glory of putting his Advice and Counsels in Execution.

The two Canons being arriv'd at *Stockholm*, deliver'd *Gustavus's* Letter to the Archbishop, and even took the boldness to commend his Moderation, on purpose to feel the Pulse of that Prelate. But the Archbishop rejected the Letter and their Service, with a great deal of Scorn and Indignation; and fearing lest the *Danes* shou'd suspect that he hearken'd to their Proposals, he caus'd the Letter to be immediately carry'd to the Vice-roy: He also sent to him, at the same Time, the Persons of the two Canons, who were the Bearers of it, and demanded that they should be put to Death as Traytors and Spies.

The Vice-roy, who knew not how to destroy his Enemies but when he found 'em unarm'd, would have made no great Difficulty to give him this Satisfaction if he had not been afraid of offending the Clergy, who almost alone continu'd to adhere to the party of the *Danes*: He also perceiv'd that the Archbishop requir'd their Death with so much earnestness, only to take off a Suspicion, which might arise, that he held Correspondence with *Gustavus*: Besides that, these Ecclesiastical Persons, terrifi'd with the Danger they had incurr'd, protested to him, They took
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the Charge of *Gustavus's* Letter, only to obtain a Pass, and the liberty of departing out of a City, which was no longer engag'd in their Party. Afterward they inveigh'd against the Rebellion of that Lord, with an Eloquence that was the effect of their Fear. They promis'd an unviolable Fidelity to King *Christiern*, whom they acknowledg'd as their lawful Sovereign; and the more effectually to justify themselves, and appease the Anger of the Vice-roy and Archbishop, they told 'em, That the Peasants had abandon'd *Gustavus*, and gave 'em an account of the state of the City, and the Forces of that Lord, which they likewise diminish'd, according to the usual Language of Deserters, on purpose to make their Court, and to obtain a more favourable Treatment.

The Archbishop demanded Troops of the Vice-roy, with which he promis'd to surprize *Gustavus* in *Upsal*, and bring him back Prisoner, or at least to force him to flee once more to the Mountains of *Dalecarlia*. In compliance with his Desire, the Vice-roy gave him three thousand Foot and five hundred Horse, which was the greatest part of the Garison of *Stockholm*: The Archbishop marcht, at the Head of these Forces, with so much Diligence and Secrecy, that he was very near seizing on the Person of *Gustavus* in *Upsal*; for he receiv'd Advice of his Designs only 2 Hours before his Arrival, by the means of two *Swedish* Gentlemen, who seem'd still of the Archbishop's Party, but had been gain'd by *Gustavus*; they departed privately, and came with all possible speed to give him notice of the Danger that threat'n'd him. The City was large and open on all Sides, and the Inhabitants were also well-affected to the Archbishop, who was their Lord, and therefore *Gustavus* did not think fit, with so small a number of Troops, that remain'd under his Command to undertake the Defence of the Place, but instantly caus'd

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the Infantry to file off toward the Forest of *Nostan*, and put himself in the Rear with his Troop of Horse, and his Guards, to secure their March.

He had scarce got out of the City, when the Archbishop enter'd it, at the Head of all his Forces, and as soon as he was inform'd of *Gustavus's* Departure, he pursu'd him with all his Horse. The *Danes* overtook him at the Ford of *Lateby*, where his Infantry, already terrifi'd with a precipitated Retreat, ran away at the sight of the Enemy, and even his Cavalry, tho' retain'd by his Presence, were dismay'd while the whole multitude, press'd forward to gain the Forest. His Squire being mounted on an unruly Horse, and hurry'd away in this Disorder, unhappily fell upon his Master, and threw him backward into the Water, out of which he was immediately rescued by his Guards. But *Gustavus* was so far from being daunted with the Hazard he had run, or discourag'd by the Number of his Enemies, that he rode boldly at the Head of his Guards; and that brave Lord, who was equally remarkable for the grateful height of his Stature and undaunted Courage, sustain'd almost alone the whole Shock of the *Danish* Army, while his Troops were gaining the Forest: As soon as he saw them in Safety, he retir'd in spite of the Multitude of those that charg'd him, having lost in the Encounter only ten or twelve Horse, so that this was all the Advantage that the Archbishop gain'd from an Opportunity by which Fortune and the disorder of *Gustavus's* Troops seem'd to assure him an entire Victory.

The Danger to which he had been expos'd by the means of this Prelate, serv'd only to revive his Courage and resentment, so that he form'd a Design to surprize him by way of Retaliation; to which purpose he recall'd part of the Troops, which he had given to *Arvide*, and sent them Orders to lie hid in the Woods on the Road from *Stockholm* to *Upsal*. At the

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the same time he receiv'd the *German* Troops, commanded by Col. *de Sassi*; and most part of his Friends alarm'd at the Danger he had incur'd on this occasion, repair'd to him with great Diligence; the hatred they bore to *Christiern*, and the fear of falling again under his Power rendring *Gustavus's* Person extremely dear to all the *Swedes*, insomuch that within a few days he found himself Master of a new Army, capable of keeping the Field: He encamp'd near the Castle of *Rimning*, and made an Entrenchment there, as if he had only the same Troops with which he march'd out of *Upsal*. He also took all the necessary Precautions to conceal the Knowledge of his Forces from the Archbishop, and to promote the Confidence and Presumption with which he was possess'd, by reason of the small Advantage he had gain'd.

This Prelate being puff'd up with the Pride of having put *Gustavus* to Flight, set forward to return to *Stockholm*, as that prudent Lord had foreseen, and march'd with the same State as if he led his Enemy Prisoner with him: But his Troops fell into the Ambush; for *Arvide's* Infantry that lay hid in the Wood suddenly appear'd, and fell on 'em with terrible Shouts. The Archbishop, who feared no Enemies where *Gustavus* was not present, being surpriz'd with an unexpected Attack, determin'd to re-enter into *Upsal*; but he met with that Lord on the Road, who had thrown himself, during his March, between the City and his Forces: Whereupon the *Danes* were struck with Terror, and saw themselves beset both in Front and Rear; some of 'em endeavour'd to advance toward *Stockholm*, and others return'd towards *Upsal*: Every one in this Disorder imagin'd the Opposition and Danger to be less where he was not, yet met with the Enemy and Death whithersoever they went. Thus the greater part of the *Danes* were cut to pieces, and the rest provided for their Safety by Flight. The Archbishop, who had boasted that he

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wou'd take *Gustavus* Prisoner, could scarce bring back the sixth part of the Forces with which he was entrusted by the Vice-roy. In the mean while *Gustavus* re-enter'd into *Upsal* at the Head of his victorious Army, and perceiving that no Agreement cou'd be any longer made with the Archbishop, caus'd a Tower to be demolish'd, which serv'd both as an Ornament and a Fort in the Archbishop's Quarter, to hinder the *Danes* from lodging in it for the future.

The Doctrin of *Luther* began to be introduc'd about this time into *Sweden*, and in *Gustavus's* Army. The German Soldiers first brought it thither, but their Religion consisted only in their Licentiousness and the Contempt with which they treated the Monks and all sorts of Religious Orders. After wards the two Brothers *Laurentius* and *Olaus Petri*, of the Province of *Nericia* propagated this Doctrin with very great Success. They had both studied under *Luther* in the University of *Witemberg*; they brought both his Doctrin and Writings into *Sweden*, and publish'd them with all the Zeal that is usually shewn in the divulging of new Opinions, especially when 'tis believ'd to be necessary that old Errors should be confuted, and the Truth establish'd.

Laurentius Petri, who was naturally timorous, discover'd his Sentiments with much reservedness and Precaution; he contented himself only with dispersing *Luther's* Books in private, and discoursing about them with his particular Friends; but *Olaus*, who was bold and eloquent, publicly preach'd *Lutheranism* in the Church of *Stregnez*, whereof he was Canon and Protonotary: He inveigh'd in his Sermons against the ill use the Clergy and Monks made of their Power and Riches, and was chearfully heard by the People, who were not ignorant that the Ambition of the Bishops had caus'd all the Calamities of *Sweden*.

Afterward he held Conferences, posted up *Theses* in *Upsal*, disputed every Day in the University of that

that City, and finally left no means unattempted to spread abroad his Master's Doctrin, during the Disorders and Commotions of the Civil War; a Time always favourable for the Change or establishment of new Religions. These Opinions were readily embrac'd by the Youth, and he gain'd the most part of the Professors and Scholars of the University, who esteem'd it their honor to become the Ministers and Publishers of that Doctrin, and every one was desirous to be instructed in it. Thus *Lutheranism* pass'd insensibly from the School into the Houses of private Persons, and the Families were divided, every one taking part according to his Inclination; while some maintain'd the *Roman* Catholick Religion, because it was that of their Fathers, and some adher'd to it purely upon the score of its Antiquity; others complain'd of the Abuses which the Covetousness of the Clergy had introduc'd into the Administration of the Sacraments, and attack'd those Abuses with so much the more Heat, as they found it their Interest to discredit 'em. The very Women engag'd in these Disputes, some out of Vanity and others thro' an excessive Fear of not being in the true way to Salvation; and every one set up for a Judge of Controversies. The remaining part of the Bishops of *Sweden*, after the Massacre of *Stockholm*, being more mindful of *Gustavus's* Conquests than of their Episcopal Functions in their respective Diocesses, took no notice of the Progress of *Lutheranism*. *Gustavus*, for his part was desirous to conceal his Knowledge of these Opinions, whether he look'd upon them as the Effect of some Disputes among idle Divines; or perhaps he was not displeas'd, that in a Kingdom, in which the Bishops had so far oppos'd his Designs, there should arise, even from amidst the Clergy, a Party that made Profession of condemning the Temporal Power, and great Revenues of those Prelates.

Gustavus after the Flight of the Archbishop reunited all his Forces, which were divided into different small Bodies, and march'd directly to *Stockholm*. He did not design as yet to undertake the Siege, as not having a Fleet to block up the Harbour; but he only caus'd his Army to draw near, hoping that the Consternation of the *Danes*, upon the Defeat of the Archbishop might give occasion to the Friends, whom he had in the Place to attempt somewhat in his behalf. The Vice-Roy and Archbishop having little assurance of the Fidelity of the Burghers, and being afraid of falling into the Hands of *Gustavus*, resolv'd to make their Escape whilst the Sea continu'd open. They conferr'd the Government of the Place upon an ancient Officer, who commanded the Garrison, and retir'd with Precipitation into *Denmark*, giving out that they only went to hasten the Succours which were expected daily from *Christiern*. And 'tis certain that he us'd his utmost endeavours to send an Army into *Sweden*, but the *Danes* terrify'd with the Massacre of *Stockholm*, detested both his Enterprize and Government, and refus'd to grant him any Kind of Supplies, under pretence that they were already exhausted by the long continuance of the War.

Gustavus was over-joy'd to hear that the two Prelates were departed for *Denmark*; since the Vice-Roy seem'd to leave him the Kingdom by his Flight, and the Retreat of the Archbishop free'd him from an Enemy that was always formidable by reason of his Authority over the Clergy; but the Governour put things into so good Order in *Stockholm*, that the Inhabitants were not able to undertake any Attempt in *Gustavus's* Favour: at the same time that Lord receiv'd a Courier from *Arwide*, who brought him word that he

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1520. made himself Master of the Castles of *Wadestena*, *Hora*, and *Scening* in *Ostrogothland*; that at the very first Approach of his Forces, the Towns of *Lincoping*, *Norcoping*, and *Sudercoping* had taken up Arms, and expell'd the *Danes*; and that he was marching to besiege the Castle of *Stegeburg*, in which Colonel *Bernard de Milen* a German by Nation kept Garrison with his Regiment.

The great Joy occasion'd by such prosperous Successes was allay'd with the sad News, which *Gustavus* receiv'd of the deplorable Death of his Mother and Sister. For King *Christiern* exasperated at the Progress of his Victories, of which he was certainly assur'd by the flight of the Vice-Roy and Archbishop, caus'd these Ladies to be wrapp'd up in a Sack, and cast into the Sea, and gave Orders at the same time to the *Danish* Officers, who commanded in those Places, which still remain'd under his Dominion in *Sweden*, to destroy all the *Swedes* that were still among his Troops, as so many Traitors hir'd by his Enemy; which orders were put in Execution with a great deal of Inhumanity, especially by the Governour of *Abo*, the Capital City of *Finland*, who put to Death many *Finlandish* Gentlemen of his Government.

Gustavus being extremely afflicted at the Loss of his Mother, and Sister, publish'd a Proclamation in his Army, as also in all the Places where his Authority was acknowledge, that all the *Danes* that cou'd be taken shou'd be put to death without Mercy; hoping that these violent Proceedings wou'd render *Christiern*, more odious to his own Subjects. He left the greater part of his Forces before *Stockholm*, to form a Blockade under the Command of Colonel *De Sassi* and *Fredage*, and afterward march'd into *Ostrogothland*, which was almost wholly gain'd by the prudent Conduct, and the Valor of *Arwide*, and had lately declar'd

declar'd against the *Danes*. *Gustavus* put Garrisons into all the Towns that adher'd and own'd his Authority, caus'd the old Fortifications to be carefully Repair'd, order'd new ones to be made in all places where they were necessary, and left 'em under the command of Governours that were zealous Defenders of their Country, and for the most part had been out-law'd by *Christiern*. All the Noble Men of the Province appear'd before him to offer their Service, and to congratulate him upon the happy Success of his Arms. The Bishop of *Lincoping* alone was disturb'd and wavering, notwithstanding so speedy and private a Revolution, and shut himself up in his Castle of *Munkebo*, not daring as yet to declare for *Gustavus*.

This was the same Prelate who had fortunately escap'd the Massacre of *Stockholm*; so that the risk that he run on this occasion, made him look upon all the Parties that oppos'd *Christiern's* Interest as so many dangerous Precipices; neither could all *Gustavus's* Conquests revive his Spirits, as being perswaded that he could never be able to maintain a War against so potent a Monarch as the King of *Denmark*, and expecting every moment to see this Prince re-enter *Sweden* at the head of a formidable Army, to treat *Gustavus* and his Followers, as he had done *Erie Vasa* his Father and the rest of the Senators. He exhorted the People both by Word and Writing, not to be concern'd in the Commotions of the State, tho' the only Reason why he made so great a noise, was that he might have a sufficient Number of Witnesses, to depose, that he had constantly persever'd in supporting the interest of *Denmark*.

Gustavus incens'd at the Weakness and Cowardice of that Prelate, who in the middle of a

1520. Province, whereof he was Master, durst not declare against the *Danes*, march'd toward his Castle at the head of part of his Troops, with a design to oblige him to explain himself, and to drive him out of his hold, if after the ill treatment he had receiv'd from *Christiern*, he still persisted in taking his part. The Bishop being inform'd of the displeasure and march of *Gustavus*, went out to meet him with his principal Clergy, and to appease his Anger omitted neither commendations nor protestations of his Fidelity. It was indeed the interest of *Gustavus* to make himself Master of the Bishop's Castle, which was fortified, but he durst not put a Garrison into it, lest even those of his own party should blame him for violating the priviledges of the Clergy in the Person of a Bishop, that could not be accus'd of appearing in Arms, and who had volutarily open'd the Gates of his Castle. *Gustavus* contented himself with giving him a severe reprimand, and the Bishop thought himself very happy to purchase his Liberty at the rate of some Oaths of Fidelity which he was fully resolv'd to keep no longer than he should be overaw'd by the presence and arms of *Gustavus*.

That victorious Lord having establish'd so good order throughout all his Conquests solemnly call'd a Meeting or Convention of the Estates of the Kingdom at *Wadstene*, to give some form to the Government, and more especially to cause his own Authority to be confirm'd and acknowledg'd, which as yet he held only by the right of his Sword, and the Election of certain *Peasants* of *Dalecarlia*. Few of the Deputies of the Provinces were present in this Assembl^y, for the murder of the principal Nobility, the difference of parties, the disorders of the War, the marching of Troops, and even the fear of some new Revolution in Favour of King

King *Christiern* hinder'd the greatest part of the Deputies from appearing. The Convention was scarce compos'd of any other Persons than military Officers and many Gentleman, who were outlaw'd by *Christiern* and resorted to *Gustavus's* Army as it were to a Sanctuary or Place of Refuge; so that the whole Body of the State was in a manner comprehended in the Army. *Gustavus* represented to them with a graceful meen and a charming Eloquence, the necessity of proceeding to the Election of an Administrator, who might be capable of giving the last fatal blow to the *Danish* Tyranny; and that the Forces of that Nation now in the Kingdom, were rather Prisoners than Masters in the places they possess'd, that afterwards he told them with a great deal of generosity that he did not intend that his Services should constrain their choice, assuring them that he would be the first that should acknowledg that person among them whom they shou'd think fit to Elect, and that in whatsoever rank they plac'd him, he should always esteem himself happy in Fighting and Exposing his Life for the defence of his Country.

The Estates answer'd his Harangue with the Applause and Applauding Acclamations that were due to his Valour and Moderation: All the Gentle-Men and Officers in the Convention were inseparably united to his Person and Fortune; they subsisted only by his Benefits, and there was no safety for them in *Sweden* except in his Army: The whole Assembly earnestly intreated him to take upon himself the charge of the Governm. and they were desirous even to confer upon him the Quality of King, to engage him more effectually to defend his Country; but he positively refus'd that Title, and contented himself after the Example of his Predecessors with the Quality of Administrator, as
being

1529 being more Modest and more Agreeable to the State of his Fortune and the present posture of the Kingdom. Then all the Members of the Estates took an Oath of Allegiance to him, and he was acknowledg'd and proclaim'd with a loud Voice in the Assembly of the Estates, and in the Army, as the *General Governour* and *Sovereign Administrator* of Sweden.

The End of the First Part.

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T H E
HISTORY
O F T H E
Revolutions in Sweden.

P A R T II.

GUSTAVUS having dismiss'd the Assembly, began to give a full career to his vast Designs, and to follow the motions of that noble Ardor which prompted him to extend his Conquests, and atchieve some new Exploits that might answer the hope and expectation of the *Swedes*. The success of his Arms, the glory of his Victories, the numbers and valor of his Troops, and the zeal and affection of the People, inspir'd him with Thoughts suitable to his Courage and Ambition, and flatter'd him with the alluring Prospect of mounting the Throne of *Sweden*, as soon as he shou'd compleat the great Work in which he was engag'd, by the entire Expulsion of the *Danes* out of the Kingdom.

1521.


1521.

He was not ignorant of the extreme Difficulty of the Task he had undertaken; the *Danes* were still Masters of the *Capital City*, and of several *Provinces*, and he wanted Money to carry on the War. But for his comfort he perceiv'd that his Adversary labour'd under the same Inconveniency; and his *Wants* were in a manner supply'd by the *Poverty* of his Enemies. This Encouragement was sufficient to keep him from despairing of Success, but he was not willing to build his Hope on so uncertain a Foundation. He either sold or mortgag'd all his Patrimonial Lands, to make new Levies; wisely considering that he only parted with an Estate, of which an unfortunate Battle might quickly deprive him, and that a Victory wou'd make up all his Losses.

He sent some of the Forces, which he had newly Levy'd, to *Arwide*, with Orders to carry on the Siege of *Stegeburgh* with vigor. Colonel *de Sassi* and *Fredage* belieg'd *Stockholm*, which they had block'd up for some time. The *Administrator* sent another Body of his Men to *Finland* under the Command of *Arwide's* Brother, and kept a flying Camp with himself, for the security of his Person, and the execution of his private Designs. He ran thro' all the *Provinces* with an incredible Diligence; and it may be said, in some sense, that he was present in all his Armies at once. He projected every Enterprize, and both contriv'd and executed all the Attempts that were made. He pass'd frequently thro' the Enemies Country, and even under the Canon of their Garrisons, without being assaulted; the secrecy of his Designs, and the quickness of his Marches, securing him from their Attacks. He went to *Smaland* in Person, and made himself Master of that Province, almost in less time than wou'd seem necessary to travel thro' it.

Decem-
ber 18.

From thence he march'd to *Stegeburgh*, which was still belieg'd by *Arwide*, and defended with great Courage.

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Courage and Resolution by the Governor. The whole Fortune of that Officer consisted in the Government of this Place; and he endeavour'd to preserve it as his Estate and Patrimony, rather than out of Zeal and Fidelity to his Master's Interest. *Gustavus* soon discover'd his weak side, and concluding that he might be more easily *Brib'd* than *Forc'd*, made some advantageous Proposals to him, which quickly produc'd the desir'd effect. The Governor was not able to resist the Presence and Bounty of that young Conqueror; he not only surrender'd the Place, but enter'd into his late Enemy's Service, and the whole Garrison follow'd his Example. So powerfully was he charm'd with that Prince's Valor and Generosity, and allur'd with the Pensions and Preferment which he bestow'd upon him.

After the Reduction of *Stegeburgh*, *Gustavus* made himself Master of the Castles and Forts of *Nicopine* and *Tynelso*; from whence he march'd to *Wesmania*, and took the Castle of *Vesteras*, which by a long Blockade was reduc'd to scarcity of Provisions, and cou'd not expect Relief. However, he granted honourable Terms to the Governor, besides an advantageous Composition in private: For 'twas one of his Maxims, *That a Conqueror can never pay too dear a price for the time he saves*; and tho' he was full of Courage and undaunted Bravery, 'twas his usual custom to *court* his Enemies before he *attack'd* 'em, and only to *force* those who wou'd not be *gain'd*. He had the Art of preparing his Designs for execution by private Negotiations, and was admirably well acquainted with all the mysterious Secrets of the most refin'd Politicks.

As soon as he had made himself Master of the Castle of *Vesteras*, he march'd towards *Stockholm* at the head of his Army, resolving to Command in Person at the Siege, and to compleat the Conquest of the Kingdom by the Reduction of the Capital City.

1521. But about two days Journey from the Town, he met with the unwelcome News of the Defeat of his two Officers that lay before it, and of the raising of the Siege. *Christiern* had made a desperate Effort to prevent the Loss of *Sweden*; he had set out a potent Fleet, mann'd with a considerable number of Land Forces, and Admiral *Norbi*, who express'd a great deal of Zeal and Forwardness on this Occasion, was intrusted with the Conduct of the Expedition.

That Lord could not forgive *Gustavus* for getting the start of him, and baulking the secret Designs he had form'd against *Sweden*; and *Christiern* imagin'd that his extream Aversion and Spight against that Prince, which he did not endeavour to dissemble, proceeded merely from his Loyalty and Zeal for the Interest of his Sovereign. He had us'd a great deal of Diligence, and ev'n spent a great deal of Mony in fitting out the Fleet: His Friends accompanied him in the Expedition, the Troops that he commanded were absolutely devoted to him, and he still entertain'd some flattering Hopes that if he cou'd beat *Gustavus*, 'twou'd not be impossible to obtain the Dignity of *Administrator*, and afterwards to mount the Throne, by improving the violent Hatred with which the *Suedes* were possess'd, against the Tyranny of his Master.

1522. *Gustavus* had no Fleet at Sea to dispute the passage of the *Danes*; their Admiral enter'd without any opposition into the Port of *Stockholm*, and as soon as his Troops were landed, made a Sally with all his Forces to surprize the Besiegers. There was a lucky Combination of several Circumstances that seem'd to favour the execution of his Designs; for besides the Weakness of his Enemies at Sea, there was a fatal mis-understanding betwixt the two Officers that commanded the Siege. The *German* Colonel, who was an old and Weather-beaten Soldier, claim'd the supream Command, as an Honour due to his Skill and

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and Experience: But the *Swedish* Officer was too proud and confident of his own Courage, and too jealous of the Honor of his Nation, to submit to a Man whom he did not think braver than himself. After this unhappy Difference they lodg'd their Troops in separate Quarters, without the least Communication between one another: They acted on all Occasions like declar'd Enemies, and were more suspicious of each other, than of the *Danish* Garrison, whom they despis'd both for their Weakness and the smallness of their Numbers.

Norbi taking the advantage of so favourable an Opportunity, made a Sally upon *Fredage's* Quarters; and the *Swedes* were so ill prepar'd to receive him, that they abandon'd their Lines, and endeavour'd to save themselves by a shameful Flight. The *German* Colonel was so far from assisting 'em, that he remain'd an unconcern'd Spectator of the Action, and ev'n rejoyc'd at their Misfortune: But he was soon made sensible of his Imprudence, for his Camp was attack'd so vigorously by the *Danish* Admiral, that his Soldiers were not able to endure so furious a Shock, and fled after a slight Resistance. Thus *Norbi* had the good Fortune to succeed in his first Attempt; and that he might not lose the Fruit of so important a Victory, he order'd the Soldiers of the Garrison to fill up the Lines, and demolish all the Enemies Works, while the rest of the Troops were in pursuit of the routed Besiegers.

Yet the Shame and Confusion of this Defeat, was greater than the Loss they sustain'd; for the greatest part of the *Swedish* Troops rally'd again under their respective Officers. The two Commanders endeavour'd reciprocally to cast the Blame of this Disaster upon one another. Their common Misfortune exasperated the Fury of their Aversion, and widen'd the Breach that was between 'em: But *Gustavus* was too deeply concern'd in the fatal Consequences of

1522. that unhappy Division, to suffer it to make a further Progress. He march'd with all possible haste to the Army, and by his Presence depriv'd 'em both of that Power and Superiority, which was the main Cause of their Hatred and Jealousy. Immediately after he gave Orders to his Troops to repair to their former Posts, and renew'd the Siege, notwithstanding the great sharpness of the Winter, that the News of his Arrival might prevent, or at least lessen the Noise of the Defeat of his Army.

Norbi was not much alarm'd at this second Attempt, which was rather a *Blockade* than a *Siege*. He left a great Garrison in the Town, and being Master of the Sea set sail for *Finland*, where he put to Flight *Arwid's* Brother, whom *Gustavus* had sent to reduce that Province.

The *Administrator* perceiving that he cou'd not hope to succeed in his Designs, nor to make himself Master of *Stockholm*, without a *Fleet* to block up the Port, dispatch'd his Secretary *Siguard de Holento* to hasten the Succors which that *Republic* had promis'd him, and to obtain a sufficient Number both of *Men* and *Ships* to carry on the War. This *Envoy* was more favourably receiv'd than his Predecessor; for the Magistrates of that City had heard of the Action at *Stockholm*, and believ'd the Accounts that were industriously spread abroad by the *Danes*, who gave out that the *Administrator's* Army was totally defeated. And therefore since 'twas their Interest to prevent the utter Ruin of that Prince, as well as to curb the Progress of his Victories, they were soon perswaded to grant the Succors which he demanded, thinking by that means to perpetrate the War betwixt the Northern Crowns. They oblig'd themselves to send forthwith Eighteen Men of War, with Four thousand Soldiers, furnish'd with one Year's Pay: But at the sametime they resolv'd to make the *Administrator* pay dear for the *Assistance* they gave him. They

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They propos'd, That he shou'd enter into an ^{1522.} Obligation in the Name and Behalf of the States of *Sweden*, to pay to their City for the Charge of the Fleet, the Sum of *Sixty thousand Marks* of Silver; That till the Kingdom shou'd be in a Condition to advance so considerable a Sum, the Merchants of *Lubeck*, Trading to *Sweden*, shou'd be exempted from all Customs and Duties, for the Goods which they shou'd either Export or Import; That no other Nation shou'd be permitted to Trade in the Kingdom; That the *Administrator* shou'd not conclude a Peace or Truce with *Denmark*, without the Consent of the *Regency*; and, That in case they shou'd be attack'd by *Christiern*, he shou'd be oblig'd to invade *Denmark* with *Twenty thousand Men*, to make a Diversion.

The greatest part of these Conditions seem'd very hard to *Gustavus*: For he perceiv'd that the execution of this Treaty wou'd ruin the Trade of the Kingdom, and quite destroy the Revenue of the Crown, which at that time consisted almost wholly in the Customs that were laid upon the Importation and Exportation of Goods. But on the other Hand, there was an absolute Necessity for a Fleet to carry on the Siege of *Stockholm*, *Calmær*, and other Maritime Places. He had no Money either to build or buy Ships, and was sensible that as long as *Christiern* shou'd remain Master of the Sea, and consequently of these Ports, he might easily prolong the War, by pouring in fresh Forces into the Kingdom. Thus the *Administrator* was constrain'd to conclude a Treaty, which wou'd have been shameful and dishonourable, if it had not been necessary: *Signard de Holten* sign'd it by his Order, and the Fleet set Sail some time after. *Frederick Brum* was *Admiral* of the Navy, and the *Land Forces* were commanded by *John Stammel*.

The Fleet arriv'd safely in the Port of *Sudercopine* on *Whitson-Eve*, and the Troops that were to serve a Shoar were landed. As soon as the *Administrator*

1522. receiv'd the News of their Arrival, he sent *Bernard de Milen*, who was their Country-man, to administer the Oath of Fidelity to 'em: But they refus'd obstinately to obey or acknowledge that Officer, tho' he was a Native of *Germany*. They begg'd earnestly that they might see *Gustavus*; and the greatest part of 'em protested that they would never have left their Country, if they had not expected to serve under a Prince whose Valor was celebrated thro' all *Germany*.

To satisfy these Foreign Auxiliaries, the *Administrator* was oblig'd to take a Journey to *Suderscopinc*. He charm'd 'em with the gracefulness of his Mien, and gain'd their Hearts with the winning Eloquence of his Discourse. They took the usual Oath of Fidelity for the time their Superiors had engag'd 'em in his Service, with all imaginable Expressions of Joy and Chearfulness; and resolv'd to follow his Fortune with as ardent a Zeal, as if they had been born his Subjects.

He made use of these Troops to reinforce the Army that lay before *Stockholm*, ordering 'em to encamp on the side next the Sea, over against the Port, which was the weakest part of the Camp. At the same time he form'd a Squadron of as many Ships as he cou'd find, and gave the Command of it to *Eric Fleming*, a *Finlandish* Lord, with Orders to Cruise before the Harbor, that all Hope of Relief might be cut off from the Besieg'd.

Fleming lying in the height of *Stockholm*, discover'd a Squadron of *Danish* Ships making their way directly towards the Harbor. This was a considerable Convoy, commanded by the Governor of *Albo*, whom *Norbi* had sent to re-victual *Stockholm*; for it seems he had not yet receiv'd Advice that the *Regency* of *Lubeck* had declar'd for the *Suedes*, and that their Fleet kept the Sea. Immediately *Fleming* gave Orders to all his Ships to stand in behind the
Cape

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Cape of *Stockholm*; and in the mean time the Convoy, with the Ships under his Command, advanc'd with a favourable Gale, having order'd two light Frigats to sail before the Fleet, at an equal distance, to make Discoveries.

As soon as the first of these Frigats had doubl'd the Cape, she was surrounded and taken by *Fleming*, who took out all the Ship's Company, and mann'd her with *Swedish* Seamen and Soldiers. Then, without losing time, he went on Board his Prize, and put out to Sea to meet the other Frigate, which was making the best of her way, without the least suspicion of what had happen'd. As soon as the Commodore of the Convoy, who was on Board that Vessel, perceiv'd the first Frigate making towards him, he came in his Boat to learn the Cause of her return; but instead of receiving the Advice he expected, he found himself in the Hands of his Enemies. Immediately *Fleming* gave the Signal for the whole Fleet to come up; and made himself Master of the Convoy and all the Ships in his Company, before the Captains, who were at a loss for want of their Admiral, cou'd agree upon the Order of Battle. There was only one *Finlandish* Ship that made Resistance; the Captain defended himself with extraordinary Valor from Noon till Night; and at last chose rather to burn his Ship, than to fall under the power of his Enemies. The Commodore of the Convoy was hang'd by *Gustavus's* Order, by way of Reprisal, or Retaliation, for the Cruelties he had committed in his Government.

This was a very mortifying piece of News to Admiral *Norbi*, who, reckoning himself Master of these Seas, cou'd not endure to be affronted in his own Element, by such bungling Seamen as the *Suedes* were generally reputed to be. He order'd his Fleet to be fitted out with all possible haste; and as soon as it was ready to put to Sea, he set sail with a

Con-

1522. Convoy of Provisions and Soldiers for *Stockholm*, which was still closely block'd up by *Gustavus*. As soon as he drew near the *Lubeck-Fleet* and *Fleming's Squadron*, which were Riding at Anchor in the Road of that City, the Guns on both sides began to play very furiously, and the two Fleets continu'd a whole Day firing at one another without Intermision. *Norbi* intended to renew the Fight next Morning; but perceiving some appearances of an approaching Storm, he was forc'd to stand in to a little Island, where there was safe Anchorage, tho' it was very near the Shoar.

Having cast Anchor in that place, he was surpriz'd in the Night with so violent a Frost, that all his Ships were engag'd in the Ice. *Gustavus* hearing of this Accident, resolv'd not to neglect so fair an opportunity of obtaining a compleat and easy Victory, by setting Fire to his Enemies Navy. In pursuance of that Design, he march'd immediately with the Forces of *Lubeck*, who were encamp'd on that side, and whom he thought fitter for such an Attempt than the *Dalecarlians* and other *Peasants*, of which his Army was compos'd. He pass'd over into the Island upon the Ice, and gave Orders to the Soldiers to advance as near the Enemy as they cou'd, during the obscurity of the Night. They quickly found that *Norbi* was not asleep; for upon their Approach, they were saluted with repeated Discharges of great and small Shot. However, they receiv'd the Enemies Fire without shrinking, and march'd on boldly to the sides of the Ships: Some shot Arrows, others darted burning Torches, and some, transported with the eagerness of their Courage, endeavour'd to climb up the sides of the Ships; but they were quickly repuls'd and thrown down upon the Ice by the *Danes*, who fought with advantage upon the Decks of their Ships. The Action was extremely hot on both sides: The *Danes* were attack'd with
extra-

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extraordinary Vigor and Obstinacy, and defended themselves with no less Courage and Bravery; but notwithstanding all their Care and Resistance, several Ships were set on Fire, and both the *Conquer'd* and *Conquerors* were forc'd, with equal haste and precipitation, to avoid the fury of the merciless Flames. The gloomy Horror of the Night, the Shrieks of half-burnt Wretches, the falling of Masts and cracking of the Ships, with the confus'd Medley of so many dismal Objects, struck the most undaunted Minds with a secret and resistless Terror. The *Danes* were at once assaulted by the raging Fire and their victorious Enemies: They had already lost several Ships, and cou'd not have sav'd one of the rest, if those who commanded under *Gustavus* wou'd have compleated the Victory.

The *Lubeck* General order'd a Retreat to be founded in the heat of the Action, and in spite of *Gustavus's* Threats and Intreaties, drew off his Troops, under pretext that they were too much expos'd to the Enemies Fire. 'Tis not certainly known whether he was secretly gain'd by *Norbi*, as the *Administrator* suspected; or whether he had receiv'd private Orders from his Superiors to prolong the War, by ballancing the Advantages on both sides. The Season was not yet so far advanc'd, but that the Heat of the Sun in the Morning was strong enough to thaw the Ice, which was quickly dispers'd by a brisk Southerly Gale, which happen'd to arise at the same time. *Norbi* set sail immediately, and retir'd to the Port of *Calmar*, with the rest of his Fleet which was extreamly shatter'd.

Gustavus was enrag'd at the *Lubeck* General's Treachery, who, by an ill-tim'd Retreat, had robb'd him of a certain Victory, and retarded the Conquest of *Stockholm*, upon which the success of all his Designs depended. He was convinc'd, by this Action, that he cou'd not safely rely upon such Allies, who

1522.

*John
Stammel.*

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ber.

had

1522. had only assisted him out of a politic Design to put a stop to the growing power of *Denmark*; and concluded that they wou'd not only withdraw their Assistance, but turn their Arms against him, if he shou'd, by extending his Conquests, make himself the Object of their Fear. However, the necessity of having a Fleet to block up the Port of *Stockholm*, made him dissemble his Anger; and having sent those Foreign Troops into good Winter Quarters, he continu'd the Blockade with an Army of his own Subjects, who were accusom'd to endure Cold, and to encamp in the Snow. In the mean time he took care to keep so strict a Guard upon all the Avenues of the Town, that 'twas impossible for the Enemy to supply it either with Men or Provisions.

Norbi hearing of the Extremity to which the Place was reduc'd, resolv'd to hazard another Battle, as soon as the Sea shou'd be open. He bestow'd a great deal of care and charge upon the Careening and Fitting out of his Fleet, and Mann'd it with a considerable Number of Soldiers, whom he drew out of the Garrisons of the Isle of *Gothland*, and of the City of *Calmar*, of which he was Governour. He was still entertaining himself with the pleasing hope of forcing *Gustavus* once more to raise the Siege of the Capital City of *Sweden*, when he receiv'd advice that all *Denmark* was in Arms against *Christiern*.

That violent Prince contemning the Laws and Privileges of his Country, imagin'd that he might, without controul, dispose of the Lives and Fortunes of his Subjects as he pleas'd, and make his own fantastical humour the Standard and Measure of his Government. The Bishops and Nobility were the principal Objects of his Fury; for the consciousness of his own Guilt made him conclude that they cou'd not continue Loyal to their Tyrannical Oppressor.


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pressor. He had put to Death several Lords and two Bishops without any form of Justice; and both the Clergy and Nobility were equally incens'd against him. Those Barbarities and the Massacre of *Stockholm* procur'd him the hatred of all his Subjects; but their *Hatred* was accompanied with so much *Fear*, that notwithstanding all his Cruelties, he might have still continu'd on the Throne if he had not over-loaded the *Danes* with insupportable Taxes and Impositions to carry on the War against *Sweden*, which was still his predominant Passion.

At last the People grew weary of Slavery and Oppression, and cou'd not longer bear the unsufferable Yoak of so Tyrannical a Government: They lost their *Fear* and *Patience*, at the same time that they lost their *Estates*, and cheerfully imbrac'd the Quarrel of the Clergy and Nobility: All things being ripe for an universal Insurrection, and the Conspiracy being carried on by the United Counsels and Interests of all the Estates and Orders of the Kingdom; they enter'd into a secret Treaty with *Frederick* of *Oldenburgh*, Duke of *Holstein*, and *Christiern's* Uncle. That Prince liv'd quietly in the Lands of his Appennage, and had never discover'd any Ambition: But he was so dazzl'd with the tempting Prospect of a Crown, that he heard with Pleasure the Proposals of the Malecontents, and consented to the Dethroning of his Nephew, concluding that the Tyrannical Proceedings of that unhappy Prince, wou'd justify his appearing in Arms against him, and save him from the Character of an Usurper. He levy'd Troops in his own Lands to support the Malecontents: And the revolt began in the Province of *Jutland*, which borders upon *Holstein*. The Estates of that Country, assembled at *Arbusen*, depos'd *Christiern* publicly, and even had the confidence to send him the Act or Instrument

1522.  strument of his Deposition by *Munce*, the chief Justice of that Province.

Christiern was extremely daunted with this Message, which a Wiser and more Resolute Prince would have answer'd at the head of his Army. He was still Master of the Kingdom of *Norway*, which King *Christiern I.* his Grandfather had entail'd upon his Family. *Copenhagen*, and the Islands of the *Baltick* Sea, had not yet declar'd in favour of his Uncle; and he was sure of the Fleet under the Command of an Admiral, who was inseparably united to his Interest. Yet he neither endeavour'd to oppose the Mutineers, nor to dispute the Crown with the Duke of *Holstein*. He concluded that the Conspiracy was universal, tho' it had only broken out in one Province. He was dissident and afraid of all Men, and even suspected his Domestic Servants, and the Officers of his Household, fearing that they might be tempted to betray him to the Prince, his Uncle. He degraded himself, and forgetting his Birth and Dignity, shamefully begg'd the advice and assistance of those whom he had treated most unworthily. His Disgrace expos'd him in his true and naked Colours to the eyes of his Subjects, and shew'd him to be as *Base* and *Cowardly* under *Adversity*, as he had been *Haughty* and *Insolent* in *Prosperity*. He chose rather to live a private Person than to die a King, and sav'd himself by an ignominious flight out of his Dominions, with the Queen his Wife, and the Princes, his Children. He was also accompanied by *Sigebrite*, who notwithstanding the ill success of her Counsels, retain'd her wonted Empire and Authority over the mind of this miserable Prince. He plac'd his only confidence in the assistance of his Brother-in-Law the Emperor, imagining that he would Arm all *Germany* to restore him to the Throne he had forsaken; as if he cou'd not have more easily kept the Possession of his

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 April 13.

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his Crown with his own Army, than regain it with all the Forces of the Empire.

1523.

As soon as *Norbi* receiv'd the news of his Masters Flight and *ABDICATION*, he took his leave of *Sweden*, and gave over his design of relieving *Stockholm*. He left a weak Garrison in *Calmar*, and retir'd with his whole Fleet to the Isle of *Gothland*, under pretext of securing it for *Christiern*, tho' his true Design was to keep it for himself, and under the Name of that Prince to make himself the absolute Master and Sovereign of the Island, while the Kingdoms of the North were distracted with such terrible confusions.

Gustavus resolv'd to make the best advantage of his Enemies retreat. He had some secret intelligence in *Calmar*, who prevail'd with the *Burghers* to receive his Troops in the Night; and the whole Garrison was put to the Sword. At the same time *Arvide* seiz'd on the Isle of *Doeland*, and *Bernard de Milen* Conquer'd all *Bleking*. And these successes were quickly follow'd with the Reduction of the whole Kingdom, except *Stockholm*, and some places in *Finland*.

The Garrison of *Stockholm*, weaken'd by the length of the Siege, straiten'd both by Land and Sea, and kept in Awe by the *Burghers* of the City, who did not longer conceal their Affection to the *Administrator*, began to think of Capitulating. They knew not for whose sake they suffer'd all the Incommodities of so close a Siege; and were reduc'd to such Extremities, by want of Pay and of necessary Provisions, that they offer'd to surrender, insisting only on the Payment of the Arrears due to 'em since they enter'd into the Place.

But *Gustavus* did not think fit to observe his usual Maxim on this occasion; for tho' 'twas so much his interest to be Master of that City, he rejected the advantageous Proposals that were made to him
by

1523. by the Garrison. He knew that their Numbers were extremely lessen'd, and that they wanted both Victuals and Powder. But this seeming Severity was only a pretext to prolong the Siege for some days, which in the present juncture was a necessary piece of policy for the Advancement of his Fortune, and the carrying on of his secret Designs. He saw that Sweden was absolutely deliver'd from the Danish Yoke; that *Christiern* was hated and slighted by all the World, and that he wander'd about like a miserable Exile, begging the Assistance of his former Allies to restore him to the Crown of Denmark. *Gustavus* had never a nearer Prospect of mounting the Throne; but at the same time he stood in need of his most refin'd Politicks to manage so nice a Game: He consider'd that the reduction of *Stockholm*, instead of fixing him on the Throne, might set him at a further distance from it: He knew that *Ingratitude* is the usual Companion of *Security*, and was afraid that the Swedes being freed from the apprehension of a common Enemy, wou'd not unanimously concur to his Election, and the Establishment of his Authority. And therefore he concluded that the best resolution he cou'd take in so Critical a Juncture was to lengthen the Siege of their Capital City, that the uncertainty of so important an event might keep 'em in awe, and in a dependence upon his Assistance.

May 25.

In pursuance of this Design he call'd a Meeting or Convention of the Estates at *Stregnez*, whither the Deputies of all the Provinces resorted, attended with a vast concourse of the Nobility and common People, who flock'd thither from all parts to see *Gustavus*, whom they look'd upon as the Hero and Guardian Angel of his Country. As soon as the Assembly was open'd they proceeded to the Election of Senators, to supply the vacant Places of those who lost their Lives in the Massacre of *Stockholm*.

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Stockholm. The *Administrator* had so great an influence upon the Deputies, and manag'd the Voices with so successful a Dexterity, that the choice fell upon such Persons as were intirely devoted to his Interest, and were either his *Relations* or *Creatures*.

1523.

Bernard Milen, Peter Erland Ivard and Eric Fleming, Axel Andrew, Canut Andrew, Peter John, Berro Claud, Tordo Bonde.

The † *Speaker* of the *Estates* represented to the Assembly the absolute necessity of proceeding speedily to the Election of a *King*. Then he imploy'd all his Art in Painting forth the Qualities of an excellent Prince, one that was Vigilant, Laborious, full of Conrage, and indu'd with a sufficient Stock of Valour and Prudence, to oppose the unjust pretensions of the *Danes* to the *Swedish* Crown; that in this description they might see, and take notice of the Picture of *Gustavus*. He concluded, that after all the Services which the *Administrator* had done to the State, and the illustrious Proofs he had given of his extraordinary Endowments and Virtues, they were oblig'd in Gratitude to him, and in Justice to the Interests of those whom they represented, to confer the Royal Titie and Authority upon their Benefactor.

† Canut Provost of the Cathedral of *Westeras*.

This Discourse was receiv'd with an universal Applause. The Nobility and Commons Transported with their Zeal and Affection, prevented the Senators and Deputies. The whole Assembly with a loud Voice Proclaim'd *Gustavus*, King of *Sweden*: 'Twas impossible to gather the Votes, or to proceed according to the usual Forms that are observ'd in such Cases. His praises were eccho'd thro' the whole Convention; he was Stil'd the *Saviour* and *Deliverer* of his *Country*: The Peasants and Burghers mingling confusedly with the Deputies, neglecting all marks of Distinction, and even forgetting the respect they ow'd to the Senators and other Lords, struggl'd and crowded to approach the King. The Name of *Gustavus* was repeated

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by

1523. by every Mouth, he was the Object of every Eye; and all in general endeavour'd to express their Joy at his Election, and to congratulate their own Happiness, in having an opportunity to contribute to his Advancement.

The Prince was charm'd with so many extraordinary demonstrations of his Peoples Affection: He own'd that it exceeded all his Services, and that their Kindness was more agreeable to him than the Noble Effect of their Gratitude. He had so much *real* or *seeming* Modesty as to decline the offer they made him: But the first Words he utter'd to that Effect, damp't the Joy of the whole Assembly. There was nothing to be seen or heard among 'em but Tears and Supplications; and so deep a Sorrow fate upon every Face, that one wou'd have thought the *Danes* had still been at the Gates of the City. At last he was prevail'd with to submit to the pleasing violence, and consented to an Advancement, which was both a *Reward* and an *Effect* of his Valour and Prudence. He was solemnly acknowledg'd as King and Sovereign of *Sweden*, and the two *Gothlands*; and receiv'd an Oath of Fidelity from the Senate and the Deputies of the Provinces.

The *Estates* wou'd have immediately proceeded to his *Coronation*, but he cunningly avoided that Ceremony, under pretext that he was oblig'd to return instantly to the Siege of *Stockholm*. The true Reason why he refus'd to be Crown'd so soon was, that he was not yet sufficiently Establish'd upon the Throne, to refuse the Oaths which the Clergy exacted upon such Occasions for the preservation of their Rights and Privileges.

He invited the Senate and the greatest part of the Deputies to accompany him to the Army, that they might be present at the Surrendring of their Capital City. He knew the place cou'd not hold out longer; for the Garrison was so pinch'd with
Famine,

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Famine, and so afraid of the Burghers, who began openly to threaten 'em, that they desir'd several times to Capitulate; but the Generals had Orders to prolong the Treaty during the Meeting of the Estates at *Stregnez*. As soon as the news of his Election and of his return to the Camp was divulg'd in the City, new Deputies were sent to him, and the Governor yielded up the Place, submitting all the Articles of the Capitulation to his Pleasure and Discretion.

He requir'd the Governour to deliver up to his Officers all the Mony, Papers, Furniture, and other Effects that belong'd to King *Christiern*, the *Viceroy*, Arch-Bishop *Trolle*, and Admiral *Norbi*. He permitted the Garrison to march out with their Arms and Baggage, upon condition that for the space of Six Months they shou'd not bear Arms against the Crown of *Sweden* or its Allies. He oblig'd himself to provide Vessels to Transport 'em to *Wisnar* or *Lubeck*; and promis'd with a great deal of chearfulness to preserve inviolably all the Privileges of the City.

As soon as the King's Forces had taken Possession of the Town, he made his public Entry, accompanied with all the Senators, and follow'd by a vast Number of Lords, Gentlemen, and Military Officers, all magnificently Cloath'd. The Prince himself augmented the Splendor of the Cavalcade by his graceful Mien, and his Noble and Majestic Air, which was very advantageously set off by the Lustre of his Youth. He was receiv'd at the Gate by the Consuls and Magistrates, who presented the Keys of the City on their Knees: And the People mingling with the Soldiers without either Fear or Order, made the Air resound with a thousand joyful Acclamations. The King went streight to the Church, and gave Thanks to God for the success of his Arms; for which, he gave a splendid Entertainment to all

1523. all the Senators and the principal Officers of his Army.

Thus *Gustavus* became Master of the Capital City of his Kingdom, and began the publick Exercise of the Regal Authority: He sent orders to notify his Election, to all the Provinces, that the People might acknowledge him as Sovereign; and commanded all the Governours of Places, and the principal Officers of his Troops to repair with all diligence to their respective Posts. He gave Audience at all Hours, receiving Persons of *Quality* with Civility and Marks of Honour, and Persons of *Merr* with Demonstrations of Kindness and Esteem. The People began to breath after so many terrible Distresses: Trade was restor'd, and the *Swedes* had the pleasure to contemplate the unwonted Prospect of a lasting Peace. The whole Kingdom was freed from the Tyrannical Dominion of its Old Enemies, and subject to a Prince that was able to protect and defend it. He introduc'd a Politeness of Manners and Magnificence of Habit into the Court that were not known, or at least not so remarkable in the preceeding Reigns. For there was a certain rough wildness in the Temper of most of that Nation, which stood very much in need of Polishing and Refining. And perhaps he us'd these Arts of purpose to allure the Nobility from their Country Seats and Castles, and to oblige 'em to depend upon the Court for Places, or Pensions to defray the Charge of that Expensive way of Living.

He had not forgotten the danger to which he was expos'd by *Peter son the Dalecarlian*; but a good Office he receiv'd from the Wife, aton'd for the Treachery of the Husband. He remember'd also and design'd to reward the Kindness and Hospitality of the Curate of *Suodfisa*, who receiv'd him into his House and entertain'd him in his lowest Condition: And hearing that his Benefactor was dead, he order'd

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Crown of Copper Gilt to be plac'd on the top of 1523.
the Parish-Church, as a Monument of his Gratitude.

The King sent the two *Flemings* with a strong Body of Soldiers to drive out the *Danes*, who were still Masters of some Places in *Finland*: And the Arrival of these two Lords at the Head of a Victorious Army, struck their dishearten'd Enemies with such a Terror that they obey'd the first Summons, and Surrender'd the Places without Firing a Gun. They desir'd no other conditions, but that they shou'd be safely conducted to *Denmark*, and were even glad to shelter themselves in the *Swedish* Army, from the Fury of an incens'd Rabble, who notwithstanding the Articles of their Capitulation wou'd have taken a full and Bloody Revenge for all the Cruelties and Robberies they had committed in the Country during the Reign of *Christiern*. But *Gustavus* took care to send 'em under the protection of a strong Convoy to *Denmark*, where they fill'd the whole Country with the News of his Conquests and Election: The Officers extoll'd his Power, and the Numbers and Valour of his Armies, that they might not be Censur'd for submitting to the unequal Force of so potent an Enemy.

Arch-Bishop *Trolle* was extremely mortifi'd with the report of *Gustavus's* Advancement, which left him no hope of returning to *Sweden* and recovering his former Dignity. He stay'd in *Denmark* after his Masters flight, where he liv'd obscurely, contemn'd by the *Danes*, and forgotten by the Court. He saw himself expos'd to the usual Fate of Traitors, who are always slighted and abhor'd, as soon as they become useless and unserviceable; but his Temper was so little alter'd by his Misfortunes that he endeavour'd to regain his Credit and Interest by new Treasons, and by rekindling the flame that seem'd to be almost extinguish'd. He address'd
C 3 himself

1524.

himself to the new King of *Denmark*, and told him, in a private Audience, that he had an undoubted Right to *Sweden*, as he was the Son of King *Christiern I.* and that the *Danes* themselves wou'd despise him, if he shou'd tamely suffer that Crown to remain on the Head of an Usurper. He added, that the *Swedish* Clergy had not forgotten their old affection to the *Danish* Interest; and assur'd him that there were many considerable Persons in that Kingdom who wou'd own his Right, as soon as he shou'd think fit to claim it.

Frederic was not able to withstand a Temptation that flatter'd his Interest and Ambition. He caus'd himself to be crown'd King of *Sweden* by that Prelate at *Copenhagen*; as if there had been nothing else requir'd to put him in possession of the Crown, but the Ceremony of setting it on his Head. At the same time he sent an Ambassador to the Senate of that Kingdom, to complain of the late Election, as a violation of the Treaty of *Calmar*, and an Injury to the Crown of *Denmark*.

The Senate of *Sweden* wou'd have sent the Ambassador back without suffering him to deliver his Message; but *Gustavus* was so far from being of that Opinion, that he sent some of his Officers to receive him, and allow'd him a magnificent Entertainment during his stay in the Kingdom. Afterwards he summon'd a Convention of the *Estates*, not so much to consult about the King of *Denmark's* Proposals, as to make that Prince's Envoy an Eye-witness of the Confirmation of his Election by all the Orders of the Kingdom. The Ambassador was introduc'd into the Assembly, and in a long Harangue endeavour'd to convince 'em that they were oblig'd to own his Master's Title to the Crown of *Sweden*, by vertue of the Treaty of *Calmar*. He magnify'd the Power of that Monarch, and extoll'd his Vertues and rare Endowments; concluding, that they ought to imitate

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the Example of the *Norwegians*, and put themselves under the protection of a Prince that was able to defend 'em against *Christiern*, who was preparing to force a Passage into the Kingdoms of the *North* with all the Forces of the *Empire*. 1524.

After the Assembly had heard this Discourse with a great deal of Impatience and Indignation, the *Speaker* of the *Estates* made a short, but very brisk and smart Reply. He told the Ambassador, That *Sweden* had been too long subject to the Dominion of her Enemies, and wou'd take care to lodge the supreme Power in better Hands for the future; That all the Inhabitants of the Kingdom had, by a voluntary Election, put themselves under the Protection of their *Deliverer*, who won'd preserve his Right and their Liberty in spite of the Pretensions and Opposition of the *Danes*; That the Treaty of *Calmar* was violated almost as soon as it was concluded; That the *Swedes*, notwithstanding their intestine Divisions, chose rather to make the Kingdom the Seat of a bloody War for more than a hundred Years, than to submit to a Treaty that was so injurious and odious to the whole Nation; and that now they were united under a Victorious Prince, he wou'd find it a hard Task to perswade 'em to resume their broken Fetters.

The Estates were not satisfy'd with rejecting the King of *Denmark's* Claim; but, to give *Gustavus* a more convincing Mark of their Affection and Fidelity to his Interest, they proceeded immediately to give Judgment against Archbishop *Trolle*, and, in the Ambassador's presence, declar'd that Prelate a Traitor and an Enemy to his Country: And, in the heat of their Zeal, they made a solemn Act or Decree, by which they oblig'd themselves to approve whatever *Gustavus* shou'd think fit to do or attempt for the Preservation of his Dignity, granting him full Power to declare War or conclude a Peace with-
Loc. I. 6.
p. 237.

1524. out calling a Meeting or *Convention of the Estates*, and resolving that his Enemies shou'd be reputed Enemies to the State and Nation. Thus the Swedes were so charm'd with the Valor and excellent Qualities of their new Monarch, that they thought they cou'd not more effectually secure the Liberty and Happiness of the *Subject*, than by confirming and enlarging the Prerogative of the *Crown*: And that cunning Prince, under the specious Title of the *Defender of the Public Liberty*, was advancing by slow, but sure Steps, to an absolute Authority over the Kingdom.

He kept the *Danish* Ambassador at Court some Days after he had receiv'd his Audience; and order'd the principal Lords of the Kingdom to Treat him by turns at their Houses. Afterwards he invited him to be present at a Review which he took of his Forces, pretending that 'twas merely an effect of his Complaisance to that Minister, tho' his true design was to make him a Witness of the Strength and Numbers of his Troops. He honour'd him with magnificent Presents at his departure; and left no means unessay'd to gain him, or at least to make him give an advantageous Character of his Power and Grandeur. At last he dismiss'd him, and sent an Envoy along with him to the King of *Denmark*, with Orders to demand the Liberty of the *Administrator's* Widow, and of the other Ladies whose Husbands were put to Death by *Christiern*.

These Ladies were still kept Prisoners in *Denmark*; and *Gustavus* knew that he cou'd neither oblige the Swedes, nor raise his own Glory more effectually, than by procuring their Liberty. But these were not the only, nor the most important Instructions he gave to his Envoy: He consider'd that *Christiern* had put himself under the Protection of a Prince who was able to put him in possession of the Kingdoms he had lost, especially if he shou'd find 'em

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'em divided. And therefore he gave secret Orders 1524
to his Agent to study the Character of King *Frederic*,
to discover his Designs and the Inclinations of his
Council, and to dispose 'em to a firm and lasting
Peace, which was equally necessary for both these Mo-
narchs, to settle their Authority in the beginning of
their Reigns.

The *Swedish* Envoy, at his arrival at the Court of
Denmark, deliver'd his Message publickly, demand-
ing the Liberty of the Princess and the other *Swedish*
Ladies: But afterwards, in a private Audience, he
complain'd, in his Master's Name, of the Injury that
Monarch had receiv'd from the King of *Denmark*,
by sending an Ambassador to *Sweden*, without ac-
quainting him with his Intention, or directing the
Embassy to him. He represented to him, That the
Kings, his Predecessors, notwithstanding their Pre-
tensions to the Crown of *Sweden*, were more careful
to observe the common Rules of Decency, even dur-
ing the late War betwixt the two Kingdoms; and
that they were so far from scrupling to acknowledge
the Dignity and Authority of the *Administrators*,
that they directed the Letters and Embassies to them,
which they sent to the whole Nation. He added,
with a great deal of Courage and Resolution, that
'twou'd be more proper, for a Prince that was not
well fix'd upon his Throne, to secure his Interest at
home, than to think of Invading his Neighbors;
and that tho' the King, his Master, entertain'd not
any ambitious Thoughts of aggrandizing himself
or extending the Limits of his Dominions, his Ar-
my and Garrisons were in so good a Condition, that
'twas beyond the Power of all his Enemies to make
themselves Masters of one Inch of *Swedish* Ground.
And besides, the cunning Minister took occasion to
insinuate, that *Gustavus* might, if he pleas'd, be
acknowledg'd King of *Sweden* by *Christiern* himself,
who, fixing all his Thoughts and Designs upon the
Re-

1524. Reduction of *Denmark*, had offer'd to relinquish and resign his Pretensions to *Sweden*, provided *Gustavus* would enter into a League against the *Danes*. But he added, that his Master refus'd absolutely to entertain any Correspondence with his Father's Murderer, and declar'd that he was his Enemy both as a private Person, and as King of *Sweden*.

Frederic perceiv'd, by the Courage and Resolution of the *Swedish* Envoy, and by the Relation of his own Ambassador, that *Gustavus's* Power was greater than the Archbishop had represented it: He found that 'twou'd not be convenient, in the present Juncture of Affairs, to renew ancient Pretensions that might make his Country the Seat of a War. He offer'd to come to a Friendly Agreement with *Gustavus*, and to enter into an Offensive and Defensive League with him against *Christiern*; and for a Pledge and Mark of his Esteem and Friendship, he sent back the *Administrator's* Widow, and the rest of the *Swedish* Ladies that had been retain'd his Prisoners in *Denmark* since the Massacre of *Stockholm*, appointing an honourable Convoy to attend 'em.

July. *Gustavus*, with all his Court, went to meet the Widow-Princess, and receiv'd her with all the Respect that was due to her Birth and Merit. He gave her an Apartment in the Castle of *Stockholm*, and advanc'd her to the Rank she held in the Kingdom during the Life of the *Administrator*. He endeavor'd, with all imaginable Marks of Honor and Respect, to make her bear with less impatience the Misfortunes of her Family, and put all the rest of the Ladies in possession of their Estates. Most of 'em had Youth enough to recommend 'em to second Husbands; but almost all the Lords of their Quality were either kill'd in the Massacre of *Stockholm*, or were already marry'd. No Woman of Quality, whether Maid or Widow, was suffer'd, in *Sweden*,

to contract an Alliance with a Family less noble than her own. But the King remov'd that Obstacle and permitted these Ladies to chuse their Husbands as they pleas'd, tho' under that seeming Complaisance he conceal'd a politic Design; for he manag'd their Inclinations so dexterously that they were easily perswaded to chuse the principal Officers of his Army. He exhorted these Illustrious Widows to prefer Merit before Riches, and to bestow their Fortunes and Affections on Men that had lost part of their Blood in the Service of their Country, rather than on those who deriv'd their Blood from a long series of noble Ancestors, but had never spent a drop of it for the defence and preservation of the State. By these Alliances he secur'd the greatest Families of the Kingdom, and at the same time found out a cheap way to reward his Creatures, and to enable 'em to serve him more effectually.

Whatever Joy he express'd at the Arrivall of the *Administrator's* Widow, the inward satisfaction of his Mind was not answerable to those external Demonstrations. She had two Children, who were meer Infants at the death of her Husband, Prince *Sveno*, for whose Memory and Family the *Swedes* had an extraordinary Veneration. *Gustavus* took the two young Princes, under pretext of educating 'em in the Palace, and resolv'd to provide a Husband for the Princess their Mother, who cou'd not draw any advantage from that Alliance to the prejudice of his Authority and Government. He propos'd and made her accept of *Turtiohanfon*, the first Senator and *Great Marechal* of the Kingdom. The King had consider'd the Character of that Lord, and found him to be such a Person as he design'd for a Husband to the Princess. He was a Man of great Quality, and had a considerable Estate both in *Sweden* and *Denmark*: He was extremely proud of these Advantages, but had neither Valor nor Courage to commend

1524. commend him to the Esteem and Affection of the Soldiers. His *Birth* was his only *Merit*, and consequently he cou'd not be suppos'd to have any considerable Interest in a Kingdom where a *brave Warrior* was infinitely more esteem'd than one that cou'd only boast of his Descent from an *Illustrious Family*.

Gustavus made it his next care to find out the best Expedients to weaken the Power of the *Clergy*, whom he suspected and hated for their great Riches, and for the Affection they still retain'd to the *Danish* Government, which had always maintain'd their Authority. Arch-bishop *Trolle* was still a zealous Promoter of that Interest: 'Twas by his Advice that *Frederic* caus'd himself to be crown'd King of *Sweden*, and to preserve his Credit with that Prince, he entertain'd a secret Correspondence with the *Swedish* Clergy. The King was resolv'd to humble a Body of Men, who by their Power and Cabals had always disturb'd the Government and oppos'd the Authority of the Prince, and were never satisfied but when they were intrusted with the largest share of the management of public Affairs. But he was oblig'd to defer the execution of that Design for some time, and was too prudent to begin his Reign with disputing the Privileges of an Order, whom the most absolute Prince shou'd never touch but with a tender and wary Hand.

Sommur,
and *Petrus*
Magni.

He contented himself at first with managing the Elections for the filling up of vacant Benefices. He procur'd two Persons to be nam'd to the Bishopricks of *Stregnez* and *Westeras*, who were entirely devoted to him, and cou'd not pretend to any Power or Interest in the Kingdom but by his Favour and Protection. Afterwards he sent word to the Canons of *Upsal*, that considering the Flight and Condemnation of their Arch-bishop, 'twou'd be convenient to chuse a fit Person to succeed him. After the Forms and

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and Proceedings that are requisite in such Cases, and the usual Citation and Summoning of that Prelate to return to the Kingdom and vindicate himself from the Crimes that were laid to his Charge, his Contumacy in not appearing was reputed a voluntary Abdication, and the Chapter proceeded to a new Election. By virtue of a Recommendation from the Court, which even then was not much different from an absolute Order, the Choice fell upon one *John Magnus*, a Native of Sweden, who was learned in Scholastick Divinity, very pious, and of an exemplary Life. He was naturally of a fearful Temper, and unfit for the management of Affairs: He was a Lover of Solitude, and had no Interest in the Kingdom; and consequently was neither capable of forming nor prosecuting any Designs against the Government.

Gustavus concluded that by these Nominations he had secur'd the Quiet of the State, which was usually disturb'd by the Ambition of the Bishops. But as he was entertaining himself with the delightful Prospect of an un-interrupted Prosperity, as the glorious Reward and Fruit of his Labours, and was preparing to make his Subjects sensible of their Happiness under the kind Influences of his Government, he was engag'd, by the Regency of *Lnbeck*, in an Affair that put him to a great deal of Charge and Trouble.

After the *Flight* and *ABDICATION* of *Christiern*, *Severin de Norbi* retir'd to the Isle of *Gothland*, exclaiming against the *Danish* Rebellion, and protesting that he wou'd revenge his Master's Injuries upon *Frederick* and *Gustavus*, whom he branded with the odious Name of *Usurpers*. His Ships cruis'd perpetually upon the *Baltick* Sea, and took several considerable Prizes. The success of his first Attempts, and the Richness of his Prizes made him extremely arrogant; and he was so powerfully charm'd

1525.

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charm'd with the tempting Prospect of raising his Fortune by so quick and easy a way that he resolv'd to Attack all the Ships that had the misfortune to fall into his Hands, and made the Port of *Wisbi*, the Capital City of the Island, a Rendezvous or Retiring-Place for several other Pirates who infested the *Baltick* Sea. Thus of *Admiral of Denmark*, he became a *Captain of Pirates*, and taking down the *Danish* Colours from his Ships, assum'd the Quality of *Prince of Gothland*. He stil'd himself the *Friend of God*, and *Enemy of all the World*; and boasted with a great deal of Insolence that he acknowledg'd no other Superiors but *God* and the *Sun*.

The Merchants of *Lubeck* were possess'd of the whole Commerce and Trade of *Sweden*, in Exclusion to all other Nations, by Virtue of the Treaty which the Regency concluded with *Gustavus's* Secretary: And the Magistrates of that City had granted a Right of Partner-Ship to the *Hanse-Towns* of *Dantzick*, *Hamburgh*, *Rostock*, *Wismar*, and *Lunenburgh*. But their Ships were so narrowly watch'd by *Norbi*, and the rest of the Pirates, that few or none of them escap'd. The Regency of *Lubeck*, which for the most part was compos'd of the Principal Merchants of the City, being deeply concern'd in these Losses, wou'd have assaulted *Norbi* and endeavour'd to unkennel the rest of the *Corsaires*, if they had not been deterr'd by the expensiveness of the War, and the uncertainty of the Event. In so pressing a Difficulty they resolv'd to have recourse to the Celebrated Valour of *Gustavus*, and to send one of their principal Magistrates to engage him in the attempt, under pretext that the Isle of *Gothland* was an Ancient Fief or Dependency of the Crown of *Sweden*. They intrusted the Negotiation of so important an Affair to one *Herman*, an Old Consul of the City, who under the

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seeming Candour and Simplicity of an honest Merchant, conceal'd all the Craftiness and Subtily of the most dissembling Statesman. 1525.

After his Arrival at *Stockholm* he complimented *Gustavus* in the name of his Masters, and Congratulated the Glory and Prosperity of his Reign. Then complaining of *Norbi's* Piracies he told the King that the *Regency* would have sent an Army to *Gotland*, to extirpate that Nest of Pirates, if they had not been certainly inform'd that the Island belong'd to the Crown of *Sweden*; that all the Inhabitants of the North were surpriz'd that so potent and Victorious a Prince would suffer such an infamous Crew to chuse a Retreat in his Dominions; that *Sweden* was in a manner invested by the Ships of those insolent Pirates; that his Majesty's Honour and the interest of his Subjects oblig'd him to Scour the Seas of these Rovers, who ruin'd the Trade of his Kingdom; and that it would be of great Importance for the security of his Government to make himself Master of an Island which cover'd the greatest part of the *Swedish* Coasts.

Gustavus was not ignorant of the pretensions he had to that Island, and of all the Advantages of its Situation with respect to *Sweden*; but he was loath to engage in a Foreign War, and to carry his Army out of the Kingdom in the beginning of his Reign, lest some disturbance should happen, or *Christiern* should make a Descent, in his absence. Nor was he Master of a sufficient Fund to defray the Charge of so considerable an Expedition, much less to carry on the War, if *Norbi* should make a longer Defence than he expected, or if the King of *Denmark* should take his part, and concern himself in the Quarrel. And besides, he was sensible that the only Reason which made those Trading Cities so desirous to engage him in a War with the Pyrates, was, that they might oblige him at his own Charge

1525. Charge to secure 'em in the Possession of those vast Advantages they enjoy'd by ingrossing the whole Commerce of *Sweden*.

Having duly weigh'd the Importance of these Reasons, he told the *Lubeck* Ambassador that he was not dispos'd to undertake the Imployment of a *Knight Errant*, and to rove about the World in Quest of Adventures; that his Presence was necessary in his own Kingdom, and that 'twas reasonable his Subjects shou'd enjoy the sweetness of a Peace which he had procur'd for 'em by the success of his Arms. He added, that he was not ignorant of his undoubted Right to the Isle of *Gothland*, but that the King of *Denmark* had also some pretensions to the same Island, and consequently that the Attempt in which the *Regency* of *Lubeck* wou'd engage him wou'd certainly make that Prince his Enemy; and concluded with assuring the Ambassador that he wou'd endeavour to expel *Norbi* and the rest of the Pyrates out of the Island, as soon as the Difference betwixt him and *Frederick* cou'd be brought to an amicable Conclusion.

The *Lubeck* Envoy perceiv'd by this Answer that the King was dissatisfied that the Merchants of that City shou'd enjoy the whole advantage of the *Swedish* Commerce, without paying any Customs or Duties; and that he was resolv'd to repay 'em in their own Coin by taking advantage of their present Necessities. And therefore to gain him to a Compliance with the Desires of that Republic, he made the following Proposals: That the *Hanse-Towns* shou'd furnish him with a Fleet to transport his Forces into the island; that by the consent of the *Regency* of *Lubeck*, the payment of the Sum due to that Republic from *Sweden*, shou'd be delay'd for five Years; and that in case his Majesty cou'd not make himself Master of the Island, the *Regency* shou'd bear a share in the Charge of the Expedition. He offer'd also that

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that the *Hanse-Towns*, associated with *Lubeck*, shou'd keep the Sea with a potent Fleet, to intercept any Succors or Relief that might be sent from *Denmark*; and added, that in case King *Frederic* shou'd obstinately persist in claiming the Sovereignty of *Gothland*, the *Regency* wou'd undertake to negotiate a Match betwixt his Majesty and *Dorothy* the Princess of *Denmark*; and that in consideration of the Marriage, her Father shou'd resign all his Pretensions to that Island.

The Ambassador industriously divulg'd, both at Court and among the People, the advantageous Proposals he had made to the King, that the *Swedes* might think themselves concern'd in the success of his Negotiation. And besides, he endeavour'd to persuade some of the Senators, by subtil and crafty insinuations, that if the King shou'd reject the Offers he had made him, the *Hanse-Towns* wou'd be oblig'd to have recourse to the King of *Denmark*, and to join their Forces with that Prince's Army to drive the Pirates out of the Island. At the same time he gain'd several Merchants who dealt and corresponded with those of *Lubeck*, and consequently were concern'd, as well as they, in the Prizes that were taken by *Norbi*. Thus he form'd a Party in the Senate, and among the Inhabitants of *Stockholm*, who had not yet lost their Right to discover their Sentiments concerning State-Affairs. The common People were so accusom'd to hear of *Gustavus's* Victories, that they fancied him to be Invincible; and being cunningly wheedl'd by the Ambassador's Emisaries, they ran to the Gates of the Palace, crying out all the way, that 'twas a shame for *Sweden* to suffer the Insolency of those Pyrates, who ruin'd the Trade of the Kingdom; that the Sea was so pester'd with 'em that a Boat durst scarce adventure to sail out of the Port, and that they were not afraid to come within the reach of the Guns of the

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Castle. And even some of the principal Lords of the Kingdom, perceiving that the King was still irresolute, cou'd not forbear telling him, that the *Administrator Suanto* wou'd never have suffer'd these Pirates to insult the Coasts of the Kingdom.

Gustavus wou'd not bear a Reproach that seem'd to accuse him of Weakness and Cowardise: He replied, in an angry Tone, that neither his *Friends* nor his *Enemies* had ever suspected him of want of Courage; that he wou'd no longer resist their Importunities, but that he might venture to foretel that the success of that Expedition wou'd not answer their Delires and Expectations. Thus he was at last prevail'd with to sign the Treaty, which was also subscrib'd by the Ambassador, as Plenipotentiary from the *Regency of Lubeck*, whither he return'd to hasten the departure of the Fleet, according to the Agreement concluded with *Gustavus*.

That wise Monarch had establish'd his Authority on such solid Foundations, that he neither dreaded the Murmuring of the People nor the Dissatisfaction of the Nobility; nor cou'd the united Remonstrances of all his Subjects have engag'd him in that Design, if he had not been afraid that the *Hanse-Towns* wou'd have enter'd into a Treaty with the *Danes*. He knew that *Norbi* was not in a condition to oppose the Force of *Sweden*, and that he might easily find an opportunity to crush so feeble an Enemy; but he was sensible that 'twou'd be a difficult Task to expel the *Danes*, if they shou'd take this occasion to make themselves Masters of the Island. In order to the execution of the Design he had undertaken, he commanded the Troops that were appointed for that Expedition to march, without noise, towards the Port of *Calmar*, which is opposite to *Gothland*: And notwithstanding his Unwillingness to undertake a War in the present juncture

care of Affairs, as soon as he was engag'd in the Attempt he began to prosecute it with so much Vigor, that he order'd all the Plate in the Palace to be melted down, to maintain the Charge of the Expedition. He went himself to *Calmar* to receive the *Lubeck* Ships, and saw his Troops embark under the Command of *Bernard de Milen*.

The General landed without opposition at the Head of Eight thousand Men, and in less than 15 Days made himself Master of all *Gothland*, except *Wibbi*, the Capital City, and the only fortifi'd Place in the Island, which he invested. *Norbi* surpriz'd at so unexpected an Attack, and finding himself unable to resist the power of the King of *Sweden*, set up King *Frederick's* Colors in the highest place of the Town, and at the same time sent one of his Creatures to that Prince, offering to acknowledge him as Sovereign, if he wou'd assist him with some Troops to oppose the *Swedish* Invasion.

These Proposals were very welcom to *Frederic*; for tho' he had not look'd upon *Gothland* as a dependency of the Crown of *Denmark*, 'twas his Interest, according to the usual policy of all Sovereigns, to curb the growing Power of a neighbouring Prince. He was glad of any opportunity to stop the rapid progress of that young Conqueror, and wou'd have willingly sent *Norbi* the Assistance he desir'd; but the Fleet of *Lubeck* and of the rest of the *Hanse Towns* kept the Sea, and he was afraid of engaging in a Foreign War, at a time when he had reason to fear a Domestick Invasion, in order to the Restauration of *Christiern*, whom the Emperor had solemnly receiv'd under his Protection.

These Considerations made him chuse rather to try the effect of a Negotiation, than to hazard a Rupture with so potent a Neighbour: And in pursuance of that Design, he sent an Ambassador to *Lubeck*, to complain of the King of *Sweden's* In-

1525. justice, and to desire the *Regency* to employ their Interest with that Prince to oblige him to withdraw his Forces out of an Island that did not belong to him. *Frederic* was not ignorant of the League which that *Republic* had made with *Gustavus*: But to prevent the ill Consequences of that Treaty, his Ambassador had Orders to represent to the Magistrates of *Lubick*, that 'twas their Interest to put a timely stop to the prevailing power of *Sweden*; that *Gustavus* was a daring and courageous Prince, who wou'd infallibly endeavour to make his Conquests as boundless as his Ambition, if his Designs were not prevented by a seasonable Opposition; that the Sovereignty of the Isle of *Gothland* was an undoubted Right of the Crown of *Denmark*; that *Norbi* was intrusted with the Government of it by *Christiern II.* and that since he was willing to submit to his lawful Sovereign, the King his Master cou'd not refuse to protect his own Subject, and to defend that Island to the utmost of his power, as a Territory that belong'd to his Crown. He added, that his Majesty wou'd submit his Right to the Judgment of the *Hanse-Towns*, rather than disturb the Peace of the North, and that he was willing the Island shou'd remain sequester'd in the Hands of the *Regency* of *Lubbeck*, till the Controversy betwixt him and *Gustavus*, shou'd be decided by a final Sentence.

The Magistrates of that City were easily persuaded to embrace a Proposal, which if it shou'd take effect, wou'd not only secure 'em from the Pirates, but free 'em from the Obligation of keeping a Fleet at Sea to cover the *Swedish* Conquests. They were extremely pleas'd with the *Sequestration*, and resolv'd rather to be at the Charge of maintaining a Garrison in the Island, than to suffer it to fall into the Hands of *Gustavus*, who might one Day make use of that opportunity to disturb their Trade, and to render himself more absolute in the *Baltick* Sea.

Thus

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Thus the *Regency* concluded a secret Treaty with *Frederic's* Ambassador, by which they oblig'd themselves to open a free passage to the *Danish* Successors. 'Twas also agreed, that the King of *Denmark* shou'd send an Ambassador to *Gustavus*, to complain of his Expedition against the Isle of *Gothland*; and that his Envoy shou'd be follow'd by Ambassadors from the *Hanse-Towns*, who shou'd offer their Mediation, and declare War against either of the two contending Parties that shou'd refuse to come to an Accommodation.

Immediately the *Danish* Forces were order'd to Embark, and enter'd the Port of *Wisbi* without any opposition from the Fleet of *Lubeck*, and soon after the Ambassador of that Town arriv'd at *Stockholm*, to expostulate with *Gustavus* in the Name of the King his Master, for besieging a Place in his Dominions without declaring War against him. At the same Time the Ambassadors of the *Hanse-Towns* came to propose a Truce, and to desire an Interview betwixt the two Kings at *Malmogen*. They offer'd the Mediation of their Masters, and requir'd the Interview in so peremptory a manner, that *Gustavus* perceiv'd he must either submit to that Expedient, or expect immediately the Declaration of an open War.

Thus fearing to be Assaulted by so potent a Confederacy, he was forc'd to divert the threatening Storm by consenting to the conditions that were propos'd to him. To prevent any Suspicion of Treachery, *Frederick*, who was Master of the Place appointed for the Interview, sent Four Senators, and Six of the most considerable Lords in *Denmark*, to remain at *Stockholm* as Hostages, during the Conference betwixt the two Kings. *Gustavus* was sensible of the danger to which he expos'd himself, but he was so afraid of irritating the *Hanse-Towns*, and so desirous to make the *Danes* themselves ac-

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knowledge his Title to the Crown of *Sweden*, that he resolv'd at all Adventures to pursue his intended Journey. He repair'd to *Malmogen*, accompanied with the Great Marshal *Tureiobanfon*, and two other Senators, after he had receiv'd another safe Conduct from *Frederick*, and the security of the *Hanse-Towns* for the safety of his Person; tho' it may be doubted whether any security can be given for a King, when he is in the Dominions of his Enemies.

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The reciprocal pretensions of the two Crowns to the Isle of *Gothland* were the Subject of this Conference. The matter was debated on both sides with a great deal of heat; and each party produc'd their respective Titles. *Bildius*, High Chamberlain to the King of *Denmark*, and *Tureiobanfon*, for *Gustavus*, urg'd the Claims and defended the Rights of their Masters: But in the Progress of the Conference the Great Marshal betray'd the Cause and Interest of the Crown of *Sweden*. He cou'd not without a secret envy behold the Power and Prosperity of *Gustavus*; and was unwilling to submit to a Master who not long before was his equal. He had a very considerable Estate in *Denmark*, which made him afraid of disobliging that Monarch, who had threaten'd to deprive him of all the Lands he possess'd in his Kingdom, if he shou'd persist too obstinately in the Defence of his Master. That Menace stopp'd his Mouth so effectually, that he pretended a Cold and a violent Cough, to excuse him from speaking. *Gustavus* seeing himself betray'd by his Treacherous Minister, undertook the Defence of his own Cause, and alledg'd with a great deal of Vigor and Eloquence that the Isle of *Gothland* was always reckon'd a part of the Kingdom of *Sweden*; that the *Danes* were only admitted into it by vertue of the Treaty of *Calmar*; that their Kings had no other right to it, during the uni-

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on of the two Kingdoms; but as they were Sovereigns of Sweden; that 'twas plain and undoubtedly certain that King *Albert* Mortgag'd the Island to the Knights of the *Teutonic* Order for the Sum of Twenty Thousand *Rose-Nobles*; that Queen *Margaret* impos'd a Tax, which was levy'd only in Sweden, to redeem it; that King *Eric* her Nephew and Successor retir'd thither after his *ABDICAT-ION*, and afterwards deliver'd it up to the Danes, to the prejudice of the Crown of Sweden. The solidity of these Reasons put the Danish Minister to silence; but the Ambassadors of the *Hanse-Towns*, resolving to keep up the difference, referr'd the Decision of it to the Regency of *Lubeck*, under pretext of bringing it to a Friendly Agreement. They wou'd have also oblig'd the King of Sweden to withdraw his Troops out of the Island, and propos'd that the City of *Lubeck* shou'd put a Garrison into *Wismar* according to the private Treaty they had concluded with the Danish Ambassador. But *Gustavus* was so far from consenting to either of these motions, that he protested he wou'd rather break off the Conference and declare War, than suffer himself to be bubbld out of his Conquests: And the King of Denmark, who had put a strong Garrison into *Wismar*, instead of insisting upon the Sequestration, which he had only propos'd to Tempt the *Lubeckers* to break their Treaty with *Gustavus*, was easily persuaded to consent, that every thing should remain in the same posture in expectation of the Regency's Sentence.

These two Princes gave one another reciprocal marks of Esteem and Respect, notwithstanding the differences that reign'd between 'em. They found themselves engag'd in the same Interest, and enter'd into a League Offensive and Defensive against the late King *Christiern*, without mentioning the Treaty of *Calmar*. They gave each other mutual assurances

1525. of a sincere Friendship notwithstanding the Natural Antipathy betwixt the Two Kingdoms. After their last Complements, *Gustavus* took leave of the King of *Denmark*, and left *Malmogen* to return to *Sweden*. He had not gone far when he met the *Lubeck* Ambassador, who engag'd him in the Expedition against *Gothland*. The sight of that Minister put him in mind of the Treachery of the Republic, and he was so Transported with fury at so provoking an Idea, that he stop't the subile Consul, and ask'd him fiercely what was become of the Treaty and the Magnificent promises of his Masters? At the same time he put his hand to his Poniard, as if he had been going to kill him: But one of the Senators that accompanied him, prevented the Blow, and the Ambassador made his Escape. Thus *Gustavus* retir'd out of the *Danish* Territories, and as he enter'd into his own Dominions, he told those who follow'd him, that *he would never go out of 'em again but at the head of an Army.*

HERMAN.

Some of the Senators and Officers of the Army, who had the largest share in his Confidence and Favor, took this occasion to conjure him that he would not longer delay the Ceremony of his *Coronation*. To convince him of the importance and reasonableness of their desire they told him that 'twas but too probable the Success of his Arms and the Glory of his Victories had procur'd him the Envy and Jealousy of his Neighbors, and perhaps also the secret hatred of some Great Persons in his own Kingdom; and that if either of 'em cou'd obtain their desire he wou'd be less Fortunate and Happy. They added that there were several Lords in *Sweden* who pretended they cou'd hardly look upon him as their Sovereign, because he had not yet receiv'd the Crown; and concluded that the Ceremony of his *Coronation* was absolutely necessary for the Establishment

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Establishment of his Authority, and the Confirmation of his Title, that neither his Foreign nor Domestic Enemies might entertain the least hope of seeing any disadvantageous alteration in his Fortune.

Gustavus was not ignorant of the Importance and Necessity of that Ceremony in an *Elective* Kingdom: But nothing cou'd shake the resolution he had taken to put off his Coronation till he had Executed those secret designs, without which he thought he cou'd neither settle his Authority nor secure the Happiness of his Reign. 'Tis true, he was acknowledg'd as Sovereign, and the Army was at his disposal: But he was not Master of a sufficient Fund to carry on a War. The Revenues of the Crown were either Alienated or Usurp'd, the Imposition of Taxes was reputed Tyrannical, the *Commons* were reduc'd to extream Poverty, and the *Nobility* exhausted by a long and Expensive War. On the contrary, the *Clergy* was Rich and Powerful, especially the *Bishops* who had seiz'd on the Principal Forts and part of the Revenues of the Crown. He knew that these Prelates were always very careful to make the Prince take a Solemn Oath, on the day of his Coronation, to preserve and maintain all their Priviledges: And he was so far from intending either to take or perform an Oath of that Nature, that he was firmly resolv'd to Abrogate and Cancel all those Priviledges, which he look'd upon either as forc'd and involuntary Grants, or unjust Usurpations of the Lands and Revenues of the Crown.

After he had, in a very obliging manner, thank'd these Lords for the Zeal they express'd for his Interest, he told 'em that the Ceremony of his Coronation cou'd not be perform'd without a vast Expence; that there were other more pressing occasions for Money that were absolutely necessary for the Preservation of the State; that he had receiv'd
advice

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advice of the daily increase of *Christiern's* Forces and Party ; that the Emperor seem'd resolv'd to re-establish that Prince in the possession of his former Dominions ; that 'twas uncertain whether the Forces design'd for that Expedition wou'd invade *Sweden* or *Denmark* ; that twas absolutely impossible to oppose their Descent without an Army by Land, and a Fleet at Sea ; that he was wholly destitute of Money to raise Forces and make other necessary Preparations ; that 'twas well known he had Mortgag'd his own Estate to expel the *Danes* out of the Kingdom ; that he had lately melted down the Plate that belong'd to the Crown to pay the Charge of the Expedition to *Gothland* which was thought to be of so great Importance for the security and freedom of Trade, and that considering the extream misery of the common People and the Poverty of the Nobility after so long a War, 'twas high time to demand a Subsidy of the Clergy, who were actually in possession of above one half of the Lands and Revenues of the Kingdom, and perhaps made their Court to King *Christiern* in private, on the score of their never having contributed to the support of his Enemies. He did not then think fit to give 'em a clearer view of his secret Intentions, but contented himself with telling 'em that 'twas the part and ought to be the care of his Friends, and especially of those who had set him upon the Throne, to furnish him with sufficient Power and Authority to maintain the Honor of the Post to which they had advanc'd him, instead of flattering him with the vain show of an empty Ceremony.

Afterwards he open'd his mind more freely to *Larz Andersen*, the *Chancellor*, who was a Person of an obscure Birth, but full of Ambition, of a vast and soaring Genius, cunning and eloquent and bold in Council. He was Master of a very fruitful Invention in contriving Projects and Expedients,
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and his Mind was always full of great Designs. In 1525. his Youth he enter'd into Ecclesiastical Orders, and the Interest of his Friends joyn'd to his own Abilities procur'd him the Dignity of *Arch-Deacon* of the Church of *Stregnez*. He had also some prospect of obtaining the Bishoprick, for there were some who Voted for him at the Election; but he was so discourag'd by the Rubs he met with in that Way to Preferment, that he resolv'd to try his Fortune in another Road, and left the Church for the Court, where his Merit was quickly taken notice of, and procur'd him the Esteem of *Gustavus*. His skill in the Laws of the Country, and his Resentment against the Clergy for excluding him from a Bishoprick were sufficient Qualifications to recommend him to the Favour of that Prince, who wanted a proper Instrument to humble an Order of Men whom he both fear'd and suspected. That wise Monarch having found so fit a Person for the Executing of his Designs, gave him several distinguishing marks of his Esteem and of the Confidence he plac'd in him, and advanc'd him to the Dignity of *Chancellor*. At last perceiving that his Friends urg'd him with so much earnestness to hasten the Ceremony of his *Coronation*, he told that Minister that he cou'd not look upon himself as Sovereign of *Sweden*, so long as the Bishops were Masters of so many Forts and retain'd the Possession of those Lands and Revenues which his Predecessors had alienated from the Crown to enrich the secular and regular Clergy. But at the same time he acknowledg'd that he was afraid the least Attempt upon the Priviledges of the Church wou'd occasion new disorders in the State, and that the *Swedes* out of their blind Obedience and Respect to their Spiritual Guides, wou'd accuse him of profaneness for challenging his own property, and imagine him to be Guilty of a Crime against Religion for seizing on those

1525. those Lands and Treasures, which they believ'd were consecrated to God, tho' they serv'd only to maintain the Luxury and Vanity of idle and seditious Persons, who were always ready to sacrifice the public Interest to their Ambition.

Anderson, who was possess'd with the new Doctrin that was propagated by *Luther*, and perhaps look'd upon *Religious Controversies* as mere *Philosophical Problems*, endeavour'd, like a politic Courtier, to confirm his Master in a Design, which he perceiv'd was agreeable to him. He told him, that he saw no reason why he shou'd make the least scruple of obliging the Clergy to contribute for the Defence of the Kingdom, and even in case of necessity of seizing those Lands or Revenues which they possess'd by vertue of Legacies or Donations; that the *Church* was not confin'd to the *Clergy*, but included the whole Body of the *Faithful*; that in the pure and unspotted Infancy of the Church, and in those happy Days when that Name was common to the whole Assembly of Christians, those Riches and Revenues that are at present appropriated to the *Clergy* were possess'd in Common by the *People*, who bestow'd 'em on public Uses, and especially for the Relief of the Poor; that the Name of *Church* was afterwards claim'd by the *Clergy* as their peculiar Privilege, that under the specious pretext of that Title they might make themselves Masters of those Revenues, of which they were only the Stewards and Distributors; that the Estates and Revenues of the *Lairy* ought to be reputed the Patrimony of the Church as well as those of the *Clergy*; that the Clergy was the smallest part of the Church, and ought to contribute proportionably for the security and preservation of the Government by which they were protected. That he acknowledg'd 'twou'd be expedient to find out some other more plausible Pretences than the Good of the State, to prevent an Insurrection

tion of the People; who were commonly possess'd 1525. both by the Regular and Secular Clergy, that all Attempts upon their Temporalties strike at Religion it self. That, to frustrate their Claims, he must take advantage of *Luther's Reformation*, which began then to take Root in the Kingdom; and by the help of his Doctrin, which equally invaded the Temporal Power and the excessive Wealth of the Clergy, he might afterwards seize the Forts that were in the Hands of the Bishops, and re-unite to the Crown all the Lands that were alienated by his Predecessors, with more Zeal than Policy.

That Pope *Leo X.* had indeed condemn'd *Luther*, but it was well known that famous Doctor was only odious to the *Court of Rome*, because he boldly and publickly censur'd its great Corruption and Abuses; and that his Opinions, which might pass for indifferent among other Nations, as long as they were not condemn'd by the Church in a *General Council*, were in the mean time of the greatest Importance for the settling of his Power in *Sweden*, and the success of his Design.

That the People, having their Minds prepar'd and possess'd by *Lutheran* Doctors, wou'd see with great satisfaction the Clergy stript of their great Estates, especially if care were taken at the same time to ease the People of the heavy Taxes. That one of the best Expedients wou'd be to restore to the Gentry the Lands given away by their Ancestors to the Church, and that they wou'd never be tempted to oppose a Doctrin that shou'd bring so great a Blessing to their Families. That the greatest part of the *Monks* lookt upon their *Monasteries* as dismal, tho' stately Prisons; and many of 'em would be glad to quit 'em, and embrace a Religion which restor'd 'em to all the Rights of Civil Society. That the inferior Clergy wou'd joyfully take hold of that occasion to free themselves from the Vows of *Celibacy*,

1525. *bacy*, and exchange their scandalous *Concubinage* for lawful *Matrimony*. That the Bishops alone, as being most powerful and most concern'd in that Change, would probably oppose it ; but that things were in a better posture than in the Reign of King *Cannuson*, there being no Bishops in *Sweden* in a condition to make War against their Sovereign ; and, if they shou'd obstinately persist in the old Religion, it might perhaps be an Advantage to him. That their Number was inconsiderable, and 'twould be no difficult matter, under specious Pretences, to remove or banish 'em ; whereas, if they embrace *Lutheranism*, they might pretend, by marrying, to erect their Bishopricks into secular Principalities, and consequently frustrate him of the main Benefit he cou'd expect from the Establishment of the *Lutheran* Doctrin in his Kingdom.

That after all, the Archbishop and Primate *John Magnus* was a timorous and wavering Prelate, and a Man of no Interest, who probably wou'd think himself happy, tho' with the loss of part of his Estate, to be excused from imbracing the predominant Religion of the Kingdom. That the Bishops of *Stregnez* and *Westeras*, whom he had newly preferred to those two rich Benefices, were of mean Extraction, and of too little Credit among the People to dare to oppose his Will ; and that the Bishops of *Vexio* and *Aboos*, knew little of the state of the Controversy betwixt the *Roman* Catholicks and the *Lutherans*, and had no great mind to dive into that Matter. That those Prelates were illiterate Men, and such as wou'd be affected with nothing so much as the lessening of their Revenues. That their irregular Lives and Conversations had drawn such a Scandal upon 'em as wou'd make it inconsistent with their Interest to thwart the Designs of their Sovereign, but wou'd rather incline 'em to imbrace any Offer that shou'd not oblige 'em to forsake their Pleasures.

So there remain'd only the Bishops of *Lincopinc* and *Scara* who might oppose his Designs ; two Prelates really infatuated with their Dignity, jealous of all their Rights, wedded to their own Opinions, inclin'd still to the *Danish* Faction, notwithstanding all King *Christiern's* Cruelties, and the most like to blind the People with a plausible pretence of appearing in the Defence of the true Religion. But when *Lutheranism* shou'd be once receiv'd by the States of the Realm, by the plurality of Voices, 'twou'd be an easy thing to make the Resistance of those Bishops a Crime of State, and to banish 'em out of the Kingdom, with all such as should appear most stifiy bent for the preservation of the ancient Religion. To which he added, That he was not ignorant of the great Difficulties which always attended the Infancy of Governments and Empires ; but that those very Princes, who meet with opposition and resistance in the beginning of their Reigns, are at last commonly respected and lookt upon as the Fathers of their Country.

Gustavus cou'd not but relish those Reasons of State, that were so agreeable to the secret Scheme he had laid for the securing of his Government. He foresaw the Emperor's Credit with the Pope wou'd hinder his Holiness from declaring in his behalf, and therefore thought 'twou'd be expedient to pull down his Authority in *Sweden*, and that nothing cou'd be more conducive to that end than *Lutheranism*. He therefore easily suckt in those Tenents, which perhaps he lookt upon but as the Result of some Disputations among Divines ; and thought at the same time, he might reasonably imbrace that Party which seem'd most favourable to the settling of his *Regal Power*, which most Sovereigns either do not or, will not distinguish from the *Good of the State*.

1525. The King wou'd have willingly declar'd in behalf of *Lutheranism*, but that the Change of Religion was not a sufficient Ground for him to compass his Designs; and besides, a sudden Change might have prov'd of very ill consequence. It was therefore safest for his unsettl'd Power, to see the Change begun by the People, and that he shou'd seem afterwards to embrace this Doctrin out of meer Complaisance to his Subjects. But all the *Swedes* had not the same Inclination to those new Opinions as the King had, nor so pressing an Interest to change their Religion. *Gustavus* foresaw, that this Change wou'd not be the Work of one Year, by reason of the great and apparent Obstacles that must be first overcome.

He was not ignorant, there wou'd be a great number of eminent Persons in the Realm, and even in his own Court, that wou'd oppose his Enterprize and quit his Interest, upon the very first step he should make to abolish the ancient Religion. And, on the other hand, he cou'd not endure to be charg'd with the care and defence of the State, while the strongest Forts, which properly belong'd to the Crown, and the greatest part of the Revenues of the Kingdom, were in the hands of those who often employ'd 'em only to curb the Regal Power, and to favour the Enemies of the State. He chose rather, it seems, to expose himself to the issue of a Civil War, and even to venture his Crown, than to Reign so precariously; or rather he saw himself so potent and respected by his People, that he thought it not at all hazardous to re-unite to the Crown a part of the Church-Lands, under the specious pretence of a Reformation, and of the publick Good.

In so great a Design, and so very nice a Juncture, *Gustavus* shew'd himself an able and great Politician. He took great care to conceal his Thoughts

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as to *Luther's* Opinions; but at the same time gave secret Instructions to Chancellor *Anderson*, not only to protect, as it were without his knowledge, *Olaus Petri* and the other *Lutheran* Doctors, but also to invite others from the Universities of *Germany*, that *Lutheranism* might make the quicker progress thro' the Kingdom.

Olaus, and the other *Lutheran* Doctors, being assur'd of the Chancellor's Protection, labour'd with great application to establish their Doctrin, which they daily explain'd in their Sermons with unexpressible Zeal. Most of these new Doctors surpass'd the *Swedish* Clergy in Learning and Eloquence, to which they added a certain appearance of strictness in their Lives and Conversations, which always attends the first Heats of a new-broach'd Religion. These Men were heard with great satisfaction by the common People, who are always greedy of Novelties that put 'em to no charge, and tend to the lessening of the Power of their spiritual Governors. The Credit they got insensibly among the Vulgar, procur'd them the Attention and Favour of the Courtiers and the prime Nobility, who were glad to see the Bishops humbled.

While these Doctors endeavor'd to propagate the *Lutheran* Doctrin by their Sermons, *Gustavus* labour'd hard to find out some specious Pretences to overthrow the Temporal Power of the Bishops and Clergy. Immediately he fell upon the Ecclesiasticks of the second Order, and issu'd out several Declarations against the Priests and in behalf of the People, that the Laity might be oblig'd, by Interest, to favor these encroachments upon the Clergy, and that the People might be accusom'd, by degrees, to see the Privileges of the Clergy abrogated.

The Priests in that Kingdom exacted, as it were a Tribute of the People, upon certain publick Sins, and with great rigor extorted considerable Fines

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from such as took the Diversion of Hunting or Fishing in the time of Divine Service, or abus'd the Women to whom they were contracted before the solemn Celebration of the Sacrament of Marriage. By one of the King's Declarations this Right was taken away, and the Priests were prohibited to exact such Impositions for the future. By another Declaration, the Priests were forbidden to Excommunicate either their private Enemies, or their Creditors. The Truth is, the Bishops and their Officials had so far over-stretch'd the Ecclesiastick Jurisdiction, as to appropriate to themselves all the Concerns of the Nation, that had the least relation to Religion: An Oath made in a Treaty, the Interposition of a Clergy-man which was oftentimes begg'd, the least Difference in a Contract of Marriage, were Grounds sufficient to remove a Cause from the common Courts of Justice; which made the Clergy powerful and formidable. *Gustavus* therefore abrogated that Jurisdiction entirely, under pretext that the Examination of Suits was not consistent with the ordinary Functions of Clergy-men; and by the same Declaration commanded the Clergy, that they should bring their Differences before the secular Judges, to whom he committed the Cognizance and Judgment of all Causes.

At last he publish'd a Declaration against the Bishops themselves, by which they were expressly forbidden for the future to appropriate to themselves the Estates and Succession of the Clergy-men of their respective Diocesses, to the prejudice of their lawful Heirs; and commanded 'em to produce before the Senate, the Titles by vertue of which they exacted Fines and Confiscations. Thus *Gustavus* issu'd out Declarations one after another, proportionably to the progress of *Lutheranism*, which excited the Curiosity of all his Subjects, and made 'em speak every one according to his private Interest or

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Inclination. The Nobility and Gentry, without examining the new-preach'd Doctrin, applauded the King for weakning the Power of the Clergy, which was become so odious; and some of the most eminent Persons in the Kingdom declar'd publicly in favor of the *Lutherans*, hoping by this new Doctrin to recover those Estates which their Ancestors had given away for the Foundation of so many rich Monasteries, of which the Kingdom was full.

Those even among the People who had some knowledge of public Affairs were not displeas'd to see the Power of the Clergy moderated, or at least part of their many Extorlions abolished, the invention of which was attributed to the Court of *Rome*, under the plausible Names of Tithes, Indulgences and Alms. But that which gave 'em the greatest satisfaction, was, that the King had put a stop to the litigious Proceedings of the Bishops Officials, and other Ministers who oppress'd the Kingdom, under pretext of Correction and Ecclesiastical Judgment.

But both the Regular and Secular Clergy grew very uneasy at this Attempt against their Authority, nor cou'd they endure to be thus disturb'd in the possession of their Rights and Priviledges. The King, slighting their Discontent, put his Troops into Winter Quarters upon their Lands, which none of his Predecessors had ever attempted to do, and quarter'd his Horse in the Abbies and Monasteries, pretending that the Peasants were ruin'd, but in effect to keep the Monks in awe by the presence and terror of his Soldiers. His Officers of Justice brought into Question, by his Order, the Title of the *Carthusians* to the rich Monastery of *Griphysholm*, who own'd the King's Ancestors to be the Founders of it, and they were oblig'd to prove the Donation or Acquisition of the Lands they enjoy'd. Having lost their Title, they had recourse to Prescription;

1525. alledging, that they held the best part of their Lands from the Piety of the Lords of *Vasa*, but had lost their Title during the Confusions and Troubles of the Civil Wars. The King, without regarding the Prescription, re-united to his own Estate the Lands of this Monastery, which belong'd originally to his Family; and expell'd the Monks out of it, under pretext that it was built upon his own Ground. But perhaps the true Reason was, because they denied him Admittance into their House, when he was Persecuted by *Christiern*. And 'tis not improbable that he took this way to feel the Pulse of the People, and at the same time to kindle in the Nobility a Desire to follow his Example, by appropriating to themselves the Lands that were alienated by their Ancestors.

The *Lutheran* Doctors, to make their Court, told the chief Lords of the Realm, that they had been gull'd too long both by the Regular and Secular Clergy; that Purgatory was a Net in which they caught the best part of their Wealth, and that with this pious Cheat the Monks especially had bubbld 'em of many large Possessions they enjoy'd with so much effeminacy: That they ought to re-enter their ancient Patrimony as an usurp'd Estate, without being deterr'd by an imaginary Fire. And, tho' there were such a Thing as Purgatory, yet 'twas but a Weakness to think, that the Rigor of it cou'd be allay'd by the Prayers, or Songs of a few Monks.

At the same time there was publish'd by *Olaus* a Version of the New Testament into the *Swedish* Language, being but a bare Translation of that which *Luther* had publish'd in the *German* Tongue. *Olaus's* Disciples fail'd not to recommend the Reading of that Work in their Sermons, preaching the great Necessity and Value of it, and spreading this Book, with great care, over the whole Kingdom. They did not question
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but the People, and Women especially, would be pleased to see themselves enabl'd to pass their Verdict upon Points of Religion; and that they would sooner yield to the Authority of some places of Scripture, Translated according to the Doctrine Preach'd to 'em, than have any thoughts of calling in-to Question the Faithfulness of the Translation.

The *Swedish* Bishops saw plainly that *Olaus's* Translation came from the same Hand that invaded their Priviledges, and that their Religion was insulted for no other end than to pull down their Dignities. They observ'd in the King's Management of Affairs a Series of Projects and Deluges, and at the same time an insuperable difficulty to baffle 'em. However as the King took great care to conceal his Inclination to *Lutheranism*, and always made an outward shew of the *Roman* Religion, those Prelates thought, they could not without offence entertain any Suspicion of his being an Enemy to their Religion.

In short, they resolv'd to dissemble as he did. But they went in a Body to attend his Majesty, and pray'd him to order that *Olaus's* Followers might be brought to their Trials as Notorious Hereticks. The Arch-Bishop of *Upsal*, who spoke in the name of all the rest, represented to the King, that *Olaus's* Translation was but a Copy of *Luther's*, condemned by the Holy See, and by the most famous Universities of *Europe*. Then he suggested to him in a few words, but with a great deal of respect and moderation, that the Church-Immunities, and even the Priviledges of the People, had been violated by his late Declarations, which they were sensible he was advis'd to publish by the Enemies of their Religion. He therefore pray'd him in the name of the whole Clergy to call 'em in, and exhorted him in pathetick and respectful Terms to be the Protector of the Religion of the State, and of its Ministers.

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In answer to which the King said, that the Clergy having seiz'd upon the Crown-Lands in the time of the Civil Wars, they must not take it ill, if his Officers made a strict inquiry into that matter, and that he requir'd only a Restitution of what had been usurp'd, or unjustly alienated. As for *Olaus*, he told them with a seeming Indifference, that he was ready not only to deliver him up to 'em, but also any other of his Subjects that shou'd be convicted of Heresy; but that he cou'd not deny him the Justice to hear him before he were condemn'd, adding that he had a good Account of his Life and Manners; that the Charge laid against him by his Brethren might be the effect of Envy, and that it was no new thing for most Divines promiscuously to Brand all that differ'd from 'em in Opinion, with the odious name of Hereticks, tho' very often upon frivolous Questions of Scholastick Divinity, that are not essential to Religion.

The Arch-Bishop being equally surpris'd and pleas'd to see the King look upon the Affair of *Olaus* but as a Quarrel of idle and conceited Divines, offer'd, with some heat, to convince that Clergy-man, in the presence of his Majesty and the whole Senate, of many dangerous Errors, not considering that such Witnesses are always the Judges of the Conferences at which they assist. The King, willing by his example to accustom his Subjects to a strict Inquiry into matters of Religion, accepted of the Bishop's offer, and the Conference was order'd to be held at *Upsal*.

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March.

The King, attended by the Senate, and follow'd by his whole Court, went thither at the time appointed. *Olaus*, on his side, appear'd in the Assembly, with all the Assurance he had of the King's private Protection. But the Bishops refusing to enter the Lists with him, under pretence that their Dignity made 'em his Judges, but perhaps loth to

expose themselves with a Man that was both Learn'd and Eloquent, they produc'd a Famous Divine nam'd *Gallus*, and set him up for a Champion against *Olaus*. 1526.

The King order'd the Acts of this Conference to be Register'd. The two Doctors disputed very long concerning Purgatory, Indulgences, Communion in both kinds, Celibacy of the Clergy, the Temporal Power and Dignities of the Church; but cou'd not agree among themselves, as to the Nature of their Proofs. The Roman Catholick Doctor us'd promiscuously the Authority of the Holy Scriptures, Tradition, the Fathers and Councils. But *Olaus* wou'd only admit the Authority of Scripture, and wou'd oblige his Adversary to prove not only the Doctrin, but even the Discipline of the Church, by so many express passages of the New Testament. *Baron Hist. Eccles. Suec.*

Among other things, he requir'd him earnestly to shew him in the Gospel, and make it out by the Example of the Apostles, that Bishops might enjoy Principalities and secular Dignities, and make use (as they did daily) of the Thunderbolts of the Church against their Enemies, meerly for worldly concerns. The Courtiers, being always of the Religion of their Prince, highly applauded *Olaus*. Some of the Senators ask'd *Gallus*, whether it were possible that the Holy Writ shou'd not contain all the necessary Proofs to maintain the Confession of Faith. To which the Catholick Doctor gave this Answer, That he cou'd not lay aside his Proofs from Tradition in matter of Discipline, without betraying the Cause he was bound to defend; and, tho' he shou'd confine himself to the Authority of Scripture, he wou'd never consent, that his Adversary shou'd make use of so unfaithful Translation as his own.

Olaus undertook to justify it, but might have repented so rash an Attempt, for 'twou'd have been a hard task for him to defend all the Faults he had committed in that Work after his Master. The King therefore fearing least *Gallus* shou'd convince him of having corrupted the Sacred Text to serve his own Opinions, put a sudden stop to the Conference, by desiring the Arch Bishop to make a new Translation of the New Testament, to compare it with the other. He assur'd him, he wou'd read it with great satisfaction: And for a further Incouragement, he told him such a Piece of Work would be the more useful in the Kingdom, because few Priests in it understood the Latine Tongue, and that they frequently mistook the meaning of the Text, for want of having it in their Mother Tongue. To which Reasons he added some private Caresses he made to that Prelate, and dismiss'd him, with assurances that he wou'd suffer nothing to pass in his Kingdom in Matters of Religion, without his knowledge and advice.

The Arch Bishop dazel'd by those plausible Reasons and the Caresses of his Prince, summon'd to *Stockholm* his Six Suffragan Bishops, and the Principal Persons both of the Regular and Secular Clergy. To whom he represented the necessity of making a speedy Translation of the New Testament, in opposition to that of *Olaus*; he told 'em, it was the King's desire, and that it was an infallible means to please his Majesty, and keep him in their Communion. The Bishop of *Lincopinc* vigorously oppos'd the undertaking of that Work, saying that our Saviour had left the Interpretation of the Holy Scriptures to the Bishops and Doctors of his Church, lest no occasion that there might be for the simple and ignorant to contend about it. That a Translation in the present Juncture of Affairs wou'd rather be instrumental to the Propagation of *Lutheranism*

ranism in the State and by the Authority of that Book the People would take upon 'em to judge of Controversies. That the Church and Religion were not liable to Examination, and that he had never approv'd of the Conference at *Upsal*. That it was far more Prudential to Excommunicate *Olaus* and his followers, that the Bishop of *Stregnez* his Superior ought to secure him, and bring him to his Trial, or else send him to *Rome*, and that such Hereticks ought only to be confuted with Fire and Sword.

But all these Remonstrances could not prevail with the Arch-Bishop to deny in some measure so just a thing to the King, and to which he had oblig'd himself in the Conference at *Upsal*. Thus he persisted in his design, unmov'd by the Arguments of the Bishop of *Lincopinc*; who told him in the full Assembly, that he wou'd ruin the Religion by his immoderate complaisance for the Court.

The Regular and Secular Clergy divided the whole Work among 'em, to have it the sooner finished. The latter undertook the Translation of the four Evangelists, the Acts of the Apostles, and St. Pauls Epistles; the *Mendicant Friars*, St. Peter's, St. John's, St. James's and St. Jude's Epistles; and the *Carthusians* were appointed to Tranilate the *Apocalypse*. *Pufendorf.*

Olaus, proud of his pretended success in the Conference at *Upsal*, printed an Account of it, and Publish'd it to his Advantage. Soon after he publicly Married, tho' a Priest, to confirm, by so viting an Example, the Doctrine which he preach'd. Many of his Brethern follow'd his Example without the least reluctance, and publicly assum'd the Name of *Lutherans*, as a shelter against their Superiors, and a Support to their Marriages. Most of the Nobility got Ministers to Preach in their

1526. their Castles, some out of curiosity to hear their Eloquence, others to please the King, and perhaps in order to get those Church-Lands they had an eye upon.

Gustavus was extremely pleas'd to see so sudden a change in Matters of Religion: And he, who never suffer'd his designs to appear, but according as *Lutheranism* got ground, thought he might now without danger seize upon part of the Church-Lands. In order to which he call'd the Senate to meet at *Stockholm*, upon intelligences he procur'd from time to time, and which he dexterously caus'd to be spread all over the Kingdom, that the Emperor himself was preparing to March with all the Forces of the Empire to restore King *Christiern*.

No sooner were the Senators arriv'd at *Stockholm*, but he desir'd 'em to take all possible care to put the Kingdom in a State of Defense against the attempts of the Enemy. The Lords, who for the most part ow'd him their Fortunes and Dignities, guess'd presently at his intentions, and gave this answer suitable to his Designs. That the People were utterly exhausted by the long Wars of *Sweden*, and that the Merchants of *Lubeck* and other *Hanse-Towns* did absolutely ruin the Kingdom by their extorted Privilege to drive alone the Trade of *Sweden*, and that without paying any Customs. That there was no way left to recruit his Treasure but by opening all the Ports of this Kingdom to the Merchants of other Nations; but that the Town of *Lubeck* must be first paid, before those Priviledges con'd be cancell'd, which *Sweden* was forc'd to grant in lieu of Interest for the Mony and Troops that Regency had lent the Crown against the *Danes*. The Senate agreed both in the necessity of making that Payment, and at the same time in the present impossibility of doing it.

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The King, under colour of easing the People, propos'd by his Chancellour to take for the subsistence of his Troops, the two Thirds of the Tithes belonging for the most part to Bishops or Rich Abbots. And that cunning Statesman did at the same time insinuate, that the superfluous Plate and Bells of Churches might be apply'd to pay the Regency of *Lubeck*; by which means its Priviledges might be at once abolish'd, which tended to the absolute ruin both of the King and Kingdom.

The Power and Authority of *Gustavus* were settl'd by this time upon so firm and solid a Foundation, that the Resolves of the Senate were in a manner but a meer Formality. So that all the Senators, with great submission, approv'd of this Expedient, of which a solemn Decree was forthwith made; and Commissioners were appointed by the King, who seiz'd, all over the Kingdom, upon the Church-plate and Bells which they found to be superfluous, and same time laid up in public Granaries the Tithes and all the Grains design'd for the Subsistence of his Troops.

This Order of the Senate stunn'd, like a Thunderbolt, both the Superior and Inferior Clergy. They saw that they had set a wise and mighty Prince upon the Throne who was resolv'd to ruin their Authority, and was so much the more terrible because of his Dexterity in concealing his Hatred and Designs under the specious pretence of the public Good. The Archbishop of *Upsal* brought his Complaints to the King, and told him, that his Officers committed such Depredations in all the Churches, as were scarce to be fear'd from the most outrageous Hereticks or Fanaticks.

The King, having thus at last pull'd off the Mask, answer'd the Bishop with an Air of Authority, that what had been seiz'd by his Order wou'd be better employ'd for the Defence of the Realm, than for main-

1526. maintaining the Grandeur and Pride of the Clergy. After these words he dismiss'd him, and wou'd not give him a longer Audience.

The King's Answer, and the Violence of his Officers, did extremely exasperate most of the zealous Catholicks of the Kingdom. The Clergy-men, but the Monks especially, exclaim'd against him with all the extravagance of Spite and Fury, scattering scurrilous Libels among the People, in which they branded him with the odious Character of a Heretic and of an excommunicated Prince: And even some of the hottest of 'em propos'd to make void his Election. The Mob, that were easily set on Fire by any pretext of Religion, join'd with 'em in the heat of their Resentment. The Peasants, among others, cou'd not indure to part with their Bells, and the Silver Crosses of their Churches, which often made the most essential part of their Worship. These wild and savage People were the fittest Tools to carry on the Designs of the Priests, who perswaded 'em that these Innovations tended directly to the subversion of Religion and Liberty. Some of 'em took up Arms, pursu'd the King's Officers, and having recover'd their Bells, brought 'em back to their Villages in a kind of Triumph.

A great Fair was yearly held near *Upsal* about this time of the Year, with an extraordinary Concourse of People from all the neighbouring Provinces. This was a sort of Convention of the Estates for the Country-People, who discours'd here of their Trade, of the Affairs of each Province, but especially of the Differences that arose about the Preservation of their Rights and Priviledges. The Malecontents, glad of this opportunity to stir up a Rebellion, did privately dispose the chief of 'em to demand the Revocation of the last Decree of the Senate, as to the Tithes and Church-bells.

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The King had timely notice of their Designs by the secret Intelligencers whom he kept every where. The Money he liberally distributed among 'em, made 'em pry into every Corner, and industriously pump out the greatest Secrets. By these Spies he learnt, that the Country-people, animated by the Clergy, were resolv'd to rise up in Arms at *Upsal-Fair*, unless their Bells were speedily restor'd. 1526.

To prevent the threatening Danger, *Gustavus* went immediately to the Fair, at the Head of a Body of Horse; and by his unexpected Arrival surpriz'd the Mutineers, and put 'em into a great Consternation. He spoke to 'em with a certain Air of Greatness and Authority, like a Prince that has a Right to command and will be obey'd. He ask'd 'em, with a fierce Look, who had intrusted 'em with the Care of the Government, by what Authority they censured the Decrees of the Senate, and whether they had forgotten that the Bishops and the whole Clergy were greater Enemies to their Country than the very *Danes*? Then, to gain 'em by the most winning and convincing Argument, he told 'em, that by the late Decree of the Senate, concerning the Tithes, to which he gave his Assent, 'twas plain the Ease of the People was his principal Aim; that to pay the *Regency* of *Lubeck* in so pressing a juncture of Affairs, 'twas thought more reasonable to fleece a rich Clergy, than to over-burden the People with new Taxes and Impositions. He hop'd that this Discourse wou'd have either frighten'd or wheedl'd 'em into a Compliance with his Desires; but instead of that, the insolent Multitude began to exclaim with a great deal of Violence, that they wou'd never suffer their Religion to be alter'd, nor their Bells and Church-plate to be taken from 'em. The King, incens'd at their Audaciousness, commanded his Men to fire upon the Mutineers; who, observing the posture of his Horse just going to give fire, fell upon their Knees, and

1526. and begg'd his Majesty's Pardon. The Ring-leaders of the Mutiny were secur'd, while the rest hid themselves in the Crowd, or escap'd in the Dark. In short, they presently dispers'd, and retir'd with an awful Idea of a Prince who knew so well how to extort Obedience.

This mutinous Assembly was no sooner dispers'd by his Presence, but a new Plot was laid to Dethrone him. A certain Groom call'd *Hans*, of the Parish of *Biorchstrat* in the Province of *Westmannia*, form'd a Design infinitely above the meanness of his Condition. Aspiring to no less than a Crown, he personated the eldest Son of the deceased *Administrator*, tho' that young Prince died a Year before. He was perswaded by some disaffected People, that the *Swedes*, who were incens'd against *Gustavus* and weary of his Government, wou'd chuse rather to place him upon the Throne, than suffer any change in Religion.

The Impostor was a handsom and bold Person: He spoke with a great deal of Freedom and Ease, and had a nobler Air than was suitable to his Birth or Education. He travell'd over all the Province of *Dalecarlia*, under the Name of *Nils Steno*; never appear'd but in the remotest Places, and such as had the least relation to the Court; nor did he long reside in the same place. When he appear'd abroad, he was very Reserv'd and full of Precaution; insinuating that *Gustavus* cou'd not indure the sight of him, because it check'd his Conscience, and put him in mind of the Crown he had usurp'd, to the prejudice of the Family to which he ow'd his Fortune and Advancement. Therefore that violent Prince cou'd never look upon him but with Eyes full of Fury; that he had several times attempted to Kill him; and that the Princess, his Mother, fearing the worst, had advis'd him to retire.


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Then he ask'd the People, in a very moving and pathetic manner, whether so inhuman and cruel a Treatment was a suitable Recompence for the Life his Father, the *Administrator*, had lost in the Defence of their Country. At the Name of *Steno*, this Cheat always burst forth into Tears.

Falling upon his Knees, he conjur'd the Peasants to pray to God for the Soul of the Prince his Father, and to say each a *Pater noster* in his behalf, while they were allow'd to believe a Purgatory. Then he exclaim'd against *Gustavus's* Government, calling him an Usurper and an Heretic, that had renounc'd the Religion of his Ancestors. And, whereas those Peasants were extremely jealous of their Customs, he charg'd him with Innovation for affecting a more stately Garb than his Predecessors, pretending that he design'd to alter the very Habit as well as the Religion of the Nation, and wou'd oblige all his Subjects to consent to these unsufferable Changes.

'Tis thought, the Bishop of *Lincopine* and the chief of the Clergy had a hand in this Conspiracy, hoping by this means to raise such a Commotion as might occasion a Revolution in the Government. At least 'tis certain, that that Bishop, and those of his Party, seem'd to believe that he was really the *Administrator's* Son, to give the greater Credit to the Impostor, who by the secret Protection of the Clergy and other Malecontents, saw himself in a short time follow'd by a Crowd of Peasants and other indebted Persons, whose desperate Condition made 'em ready to embrace the first opportunity of a Change.

Gustavus knew not whether to march against him, or neglect so groundless a Rumor; he was irresolute for some time, and waver'd 'twixt Hope and Fear; for tho' he was sensible of the Danger of slighting the feeblest Enemy, he was afraid lest by shewing too visible a Concern on this occasion he shou'd strengthen

1526.  then the Party of the Impostor. At last he resolv'd to desire the *Administrator's* Widow to write to the *Dalecarlians*; and that Princess, in obedience to his Request, assur'd 'em, by a Letter, that her Son died above a Year ago; that all the Inhabitants of *Stockholm*, who assisted at his Funeral, were Witnesses of his Death; and that she had but one young Child living, of whose Education the King took as much care as if he were his own Son.

This Letter had all the success *Gustavus* cou'd expect; and the undeceiv'd Peasants forsook their fictitious Prince, who, fearing that they wou'd deliver him up to the King, fled to *Norway*; where he found a new Protection, upon the Recommendation of the Bishops of *Sweden* to the Archbishop of *Dronthem*, by whom he was receiv'd and entertain'd as Prince of *Sweden*. By this Prelate's Interest the Impostor rais'd new Troops in that Kingdom, and by his own Insinuations he perswaded a Lady of the highest Quality there, that the Crown of *Sweden* did rightly belong to him, and promis'd he wou'd one day raise her Daughter to the Dignity of a Queen. The Lady, dazeld with the prospect of a Crown, made her Tenants take up Arms in Defence of his Right, furnish'd him with great Sums of Money to begin the War, and presented him with a Gold Chain of considerable Weight, as the Pledge of the Alliance she wou'd contract with him.

The King, upon Advice that the Impostor was preparing to return to *Sweden*, order'd a Body of Horse to prevent him. At the same time he writ to *Frederic* King of *Denmark*, complaining of the Protection he gave, in his Dominions, to a notorious Cheat, protesting he wou'd seek him out at the Head of his Army in the furthest Parts of *Norway*, if he were not speedily expell'd out of that Kingdom.

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That wise and politick Prince cou'd not, without a secret Jealousy, look upon the Union of the *Swedes*, and the Prosperity of *Gustavus's* Reign, and wou'd have been glad to see *Sweden* imbroil'd in Civil Wars by the Counterfeit *Steno*. But fearing a Storm from *Sweden*, when he expected every moment a Descent from *Christiern*, he sent Orders to *Hans* to depart immediately out of his Dominions; and that unhappy Wretch fled from *Norway* to *Rosstock*, a Free and Imperial City in *Mecklenburg* upon the *Baltick*. *Gustavus*, having receiv'd advice of his Retreat, sent to the Magistrates of that City requiring 'em to deliver up the Impostor, and threaten'd to stop all their Ships that shou'd be found in his Ports, if they wou'd not comply with so just a Desire. The Magistrates of *Rosstock*, having no reason to protect such an abandon'd Wretch, caus'd him to be Beheaded; by which Execution they put an end to *Gustavus's* fears, and basted all the Hopes of his dissaffected Subjects.

Tho' the Clergy had not publicly appear'd in this Revolt, yet the King was fully convinc'd that they wou'd have infallibly declar'd for the Impostor, if his Attempt had been attended with success. He knew them to be his most dangerous Enemies, and that nothing but the Fear of his Power, kept them from open Rebellion. The Bishops influenc'd the Curates and inferiour Clergy to keep the People steady in their ancient Religion, being sensible they must lose the best part of their Revenues, as soon as *Lutheranism* shou'd be establish'd. Such powerful Motives as Religion and Self-Interest, put the whole Body of the Clergy into a ferment, and made them turn every Stone. The Monks, but especially those call'd *Mendicant Friars*, run thro' all the Provinces, under pretext of begging Bread for their Subsistence, but in effect to foment the Discontents of the People. They made sure of their Friends,

1526. influenc'd their Devotoes, form'd Cabals in all the Villages, and spoke so disrespectfully of their Prince, as if their affected Zeal for the Defence of the Catholick Faith, cou'd have justify'd the Spirit of Rebellion.

The King, being under some apprehension that the Clergy and those Monks might at last occasion some dangerous Revolt, resolv'd to gain the Bishops, and especially the Heads and Superiors of the Religious Houses, and to remove such as wou'd not comply with his Designs. Most of the Superiors of the *Mendicant* Friars were *Germans* and *Foreigners*, all Doctors in the chief Universities of *Germany*, who were sent by their Generals to visit and govern the *Swedish* Monasteries. The King issued out a Declaration, forbidding those *Foreigners* to meddle with the Government of the Monks his natural Subjects, under pretence that being Subjects of the Emperor and other Princes who were Enemies to the Nation, they incited not only the Monks, but even the common People, to Rebellious Practices. So that they were oblig'd immediately to leave the Kingdom, and the King took care to substitute in their Places such Monks as were intirely devoted to the Court. This Declaration was follow'd by another, to prohibit the Visits and too frequent Journies of the Monks. By this Edict they were not allow'd to go above twice a Year out of their Monasteries, and to stay but a Fortnight each time, to receive the Bounty and Alms of the People. This done, the King apply'd himself to the Bishops of *Stregnez*, and *Westeras*, who were his Creatures, and assur'd 'em, that in all these Proceedings he had no other Aim, than to see the Word of God observ'd in his Kingdom, and to banish all Superstitions that a worldly Interest had introduc'd into religious Worship. He desir'd 'em cheerfully to surrender the Fortresses that were in their Hands, promis'd to make 'em suitable and advantageous

antageous Returns, and to advanceth their Families to the principal and highest Dignities in the Kingdom. Upon which Declarations of his Affection and the Confidence he plac'd in 'em, they told him they shou'd always be ready to submit to his Will without inquiring into the Reason of his Orders; imagining that their Complaisance cou'd not be reputed Criminal, so long as they did not openly profess those Doctrins which they look'd upon as erroneous, especially since they cou'd not oppose the King's Designs, without exposing themselves to his Indignation. But the Archbishop of *Upsal* resisted the Temptation, with a Resolution that cou'd neither be shaken by Promises or Threats. His Temporalities were seized, his Family persecuted, and his Person for some time confined to a Convent at *Stockholm*, under pretence that he had a hand in the Impostor's Rebellion. In a word, none of those indirect Persecutions were omitted to which Princes usually have Recourse when they wou'd reclaim obstinate Subjects, that will not be reduc'd by gentler Methods. He answer'd those who urg'd him to yield to the King's Will, that he was advanc'd to his Dignity without making the least Interest for it; that King *Gustavus* himself recommended him of his own accord, made an Interest for his Choice, and he cou'd not imagine that Prince shou'd expect from him, by way of Acknowledgment, that he shou'd so basely betray his Dignity and Ministry. The King, finding him Inflexible, found out an honourable way to get rid of him, by conferring upon him the Character of Ambassador. He was order'd forthwith to set out for *Poland*, and the King sent him word that he shou'd receive his Dispatches at *Dantzic*. The Archbishop apprehended presently the Drift of this Commission, and lookt upon his Embassy as little better than a Banishment. However, he obey'd the King's Orders with a great deal of sub-

1527. mission, and went for *Dantzic*, with his Brother *Olaus Magnus*. Where having waited some time (but in vain) for his Dispatches and his Majesty's Orders, and hearing that *Lutheranism* got ground every Day in *Sweden*, he went to *Rome* to implore the Pope's Assistance, and inform his Holiness of the Danger that threatned the Catholick Religion in *Sweden*, under so politick and so mighty a Prince.

Clement
VII.

But the Pope was in so bad Circumstances that he cou'd not take much notice of the Affairs of *Sweden*. His extraordinary Ambition to advance and aggrandize his Family, made him enter the Year before into a League with *Francis I.* King of *France*, and the States of *Venice*, *Florence* and *Switzerland*, against the Emperor *Charles V.* The Design of the Confederacy was to procure the Liberty of the Children of *France* who were then Hostages in *Spain*, to recover the Kingdom of *Naples* to the Holy See, to maintain *Sforza* in the Dukedom of *Milan*, and to defend the Liberty of *Italy*; in a word, to oppose the Power of the Emperor, who was grown formidable ever since the Battel of *Pavia*.

That Prince was so incens'd against the Pope, whom he lookt upon as the Author of the League, that he rais'd a bloody War against him. But the War it self was not so grievous to the Pope, as the Emperor's Exhortation to the Cardinals to summon a lawful Council for the Good of the Church, which wanted to be Reformed (as the Emperor was pleas'd to express it) both in her Head and Members. *Clement* was extremely averse to a Council, which he dreaded wou'd not only regulate the Papal Power, but enter upon some Enquiry that might be prejudicial to his Person and Dignity. He was always reputed the natural Son of *Julian de Medicis*, till Pope *Leo X.* being of the same Family declar'd him Legitimate, — upon the Information of his Mother's
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Brother, and of certain Monks who deposed that there was a Promise of Marriage, tho' such an Evidence was somewhat suspicious in so nice an Affair. There was indeed no positive Law to exclude Bastards from the Pontificate; but 'twas the common Opinion, that so eminent and holy a Dignity was inconsistent with so great a Blemish. The Pope therefore might justly fear, that the Emperor would insist upon it in a Council, and by his Authority colour it with a Pretext of Justice and Religion.

Besides, he knew that the Emperor had a Note in his Hands, which he had given to Cardinal *Colonna* in the Conclave, to purchase his Vote. Thus he saw himself in danger of being depos'd, as was *Balthazar Cossa*, known during his Pontificate by the Name of *John XXIII.* and the rather, because Pope *Julius II.* had issued out a strict Bull, annulling and making void all Simoniackal Elections, and putting it out of the Power of the Cardinals, by a posterior Consent, to make 'em valid.

But *Charles V.* did not so much aim at his Person, as the Principalities annex'd to his Dignity. His eagerness for a Council was only to get an opportunity to raise him new Enemies, and to make him depend upon his pleasure. He would fain have had the Command of the Pope's Territories, which lay so convenient for him in that juncture of War for the Communication of the *Milanese* with the Kingdom of *Naples*, and the late League the Pope had made with his Enemies afforded him a plausible pretence to seize on 'em.

He gave Orders to his Army to march into the Pope's Territories. His Troops besieg'd, and took *Rome* by Storm, where they committed such Barbarities as cou'd not be expected from Infidels. Both the Massacre and Plunder lasted several Days, the Virgins were ravish'd in their Mothers Arms, and

1526. at the foot of the very Altars, the Monuments of the Apostles and the Relics of the Saints were prophan'd by the Avarice and Insolence of the Soldiers; the Cardinals and Prelates of the Court of *Rome* were thrown into dismal Dungeons, where they were perpetually alarm'd with the fear of an ignominious Death, to make 'em deliver up the Treasures of the Church. The Pope himself was seiz'd and imprison'd in the Castle of *St. Angelo*, by the Emperor's Officers. And that Prince, who affected the religious Title of *Catholick*, design'd to send him to *Spain*, as he had done *Francis I.* that he might almost at the same time Triumph over the two greatest Powers of *Europe*, one Spiritual, and the other Temporal.

Gustavus heard with a secret Joy the News of this War betwixt the Pope and the Emperor, but especially of the amazing Success of the last. He therefore resolv'd to follow his Example, and to make use of this Juncture to give the fatal Blow to the Dignity of the Bishops of his Realm. His Power was so great, that he scared no Rebellion; having a considerable number of Troops on foot, which made him formidable to his Enemies at home and abroad. Most of his Officers were Foreigners or *Lutherans*, all equally devoted both to his Person and Fortune; the Senators were all his Creatures; and the *Danes* his Allies.

Thus whilst all *Europe* dreaded his Power or admir'd his Greatness, he form'd a Design to take from the Bishops all the strong Holds that were under their Jurisdiction, and at the same time to make an exact Enquiry into all the Purchases or Usurpations of both the Regular and Secular Clergy, since the Prohibition of King *Canutson*. But above all he resolv'd to get all his Declarations, and the Decree made in the Senate relating to the Tithes, confirm'd by the Estates of the Kingdom.

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In pursuance of this Resolution he call'd a Meeting of the Estates at *Westeras*, and made use of his Authority in all the Provinces to influence the Election of such Deputies as might serve his turn. He sent secret Orders to a certain number of his Officers of War to be present at the Elections, under colour of soliciting for the Payment of the Troops. He himself follow'd 'em soon after, attended by all the Senators, and follow'd by a Crowd of Courtiers; who shew'd his Greatness, and served at the same time to maintain it.

He began to discover his Intention in the ordering of a Treat which he gave the Bishops, Senators, Deputies of Provinces, and all the Members of the Estates. The Officers of his Household alter'd the usual order of the Seats at Table: The chief Places were given to the Temporal Senators, to the prejudice of the Bishops, who claim'd that Honour by prescription. And the same Precedency was given to the Gentry, who were plac'd above the Deputies of the inferior Clergy. By which alteration the King design'd to create a Difference betwixt the Bishops and the Senators, and to make the Gentry approve his Intentions to humble the Clergy.

As soon as the Bishops and other Ecclesiastical Deputies rose from Table, they retir'd in great discontent from the Hall, and even out of the Castle, and went to *St. Giles's Church*, where they shut themselves in. Being alone, and (as they thought) safe, they ask'd one another what might be the Reason of the publick Injury and Affront which the King had put upon 'em. The Bishop of *Lincopine* presiding in the Assembly as being the first Suffragan to the Arch-Bishop of *Upsal*, made a Speech to this effect, That they knew by their own experience, that the King never did any publick Action, without some private Design; That this alteration to the prejudice of their Order, was but a

1527. forerunner of greater Persecutions; That the Kings Declarations, the Decrees of the Senate, the Attempts of his Majestys Officers, his Power and his Armies, were so many Prognosticks of the loss of their Liberty, and the best part of their Revenues; That under the specious Title of Defender of the Country, he assum'd an absolute Authority, above the reach of the Laws; That he was resolv'd to seize upon their Castles and Fortresses, and afterwards deprive 'em of that share in the Government which they had so long enjoy'd; and that Religion it self would be in great danger, if they did not resolve vigorously to oppose the Lutherans.

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The Bishop of *Stregnez*, who was gain'd by the Court, reply'd, that they could not indeed be too watchful for the Defence of their Religion; but withal he insinuated that they ought not by an unseasonable Zeal to provoke a Potent Prince, who in all other respects deserv'd so well of the Nation. He added, that in his Opinion the Clergy should contribute part of their Revenues towards the Defence of the Kingdom; and declared his readiness to put his Castle into the Kings Hands, who was better able to defend it against the Enemies of the State than a Clergy-Man.

The Bishop of *Lincopine* could not hear that Prelates Discourse without Indignation. He ask'd him in an angry Tone, whether he thought he could as Lawfully dispose of his Church Lands as of his Patrimony, and that in behalf of a Heretick Prince, or one at least who countenanced Heresy. He tax'd him, that he spoke more like a Statesman and a Courtier, than a true Bishop, and, to soften those hard and offensive expressions, he conjur'd him with all earnestness to stick to the Interests of his Brethren, and to Act unanimously with them for the Defence of their Rights and Dignities. He

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exhorted the whole Assembly to follow their Arch-Bishops steps, who had generously withstood both the Carelles and Threats of the Court; telling them, that upon all such Occasions they were oblig'd to remember the Oath they had taken at their Consecration, to venture their Lives in the Defence of Religion and the Rights and Privileges of their Churches. In a word, he omitted nothing that cou'd revive in their minds a true Episcopal Zeal, or convince them that the severest punishment that cou'd be inflicted on 'em for an Apostolical constancy or stedfastness would be far more glorious to 'em than all the favour of the Court.

This Disconrse being pronounc'd with a great deal of heat, drew in the three other Bishops, and all the other Ecclesiasticks that Compos'd the Assembly; so that it was resolv'd, they were oblig'd to maintain to the utmost of their power the Revenues and Rights of the *Swedish* Church against all opposers. The Bishops of *Stregnez* and *Westeras*, as great Courtiers as they were, durst not oppose so generous a motion; or perhaps were not sorry to see their Brethren undertake, at their Perils, to Defend their Dignities. In short, these Six Bishops took a Solemn Oath to Defend with vigor the Rights and Priviledges of the Church against all the Attempts of the King. They made an Act to which they subscrib'd, and which they caus'd to be sign'd by all the rest of the Clergy who were present; then they hid it in a Tomb in the Church, lest it should fall into the King's hands.

The Bishop of *Lincopinc* endeavour'd also to procure the favour of some powerful Lay-Patrons: He privately made sure of *Tureiohanfon* the great Marthal, whose Birth and Dignity gave him the next rank to the King; but these advantages were obscur'd by the defect of his Merit and by his Pride. He
talk'd

1527. talk'd perpetually of his Pedegree; and tho' he had neither Valour nor Courage, he fanci'd that his Birth and Quality entitl'd him to the esteem of all Mankind. The Bishop begg'd his Protection for the Clergy and that was ground enough to obtain it. The Marshal, was so over joy'd to see himself court-ed by so considerable a Party, that he made a Solemn Promise, to maintain and support the ancient Religion and its Ministers. Besides him, that Pre-late gain'd some Lords of *West-Gothland*, and several Deputies of the Peasants, who combin'd together to oppose all the Attempts of the *Lutherans*.

The next day the Estates met, and the Chancellor open'd the Sessions with a pathetic Speech, upon the Exigences of the State. He told them from the King, that there was no Fund settl'd for the Payment of the Forces; that most of the Frontier places wanted to be Fortifi'd; that the Arsenals were unfurnish'd, and that there were few Ships in the Ports. He forgot not to Alarm 'em with an account of King *Christiern's* preparations. He put 'em in mind of all the Cruelties which that Prince committed in the Kingdom, representing in the most dismal colours, the miserable condition of that Kingdom under his Government. Besides the Massacre of the Senate, he presented 'em with a frightful Catalogue of all the Robberies, Plunders, Assassinations, Burnings, Rapes, and other Enormous Barbarities that were Authoriz'd by a Prince who never gave himself the trouble to seek for any pretext to excuse or cover his Crimes. A dreadful Time, when the Kingdom was become a Prey to Implacable Enemies, or to Treacherous and Rebellious Natives, more cruel than they, whose Credit and Rewards were more Intolerable, than there very Treasons and Villanies. He told 'em that when the Nation was in these deplorable

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able and hopeless circumstances, the King alone formed a generous design to deliver his Native Country. In order to which he had expos'd himself to the greatest Dangers; and, as he had not spar'd his life for their defence, so 'twas well known he had Mortgag'd all his Estate to carry on the War against the *Danes*. That by his Valour and Conduct, the *Swedes* had at last Triumph'd over their Enemies; but that the same cruel Enemies were preparing for a new Invasion with all the Forces of the Emperour, if speedy care were not taken to oppose 'em. To which he added, that the Revenues of the Crown were so diminish'd by the Usurpations of the Clergy, that they were scarce sufficient to answer the Charge of the civil List. That the Nobility and Gentry were also ruin'd by the imprudent Bounty of their Ancestors. That it was plain, the Church of *Sweden* alone had the command of more Wealth, than the King, and all the other Estates of the Realm together. That the Bishops had always made Religion subservient to their Interest, and the Establishing of their Authority; and by indirect means had made themselves Masters of the best Mannours and Principal Fortresses. That these Prelates, growing by degrees Richer and more Potent than their Sovereign had frequently revolted against their Princes. That their Ambition had occasion'd all the Civil and Foreign Wars, with which the Kingdom had been harass'd for near the space of 120 Years. That they had several times call'd in the Enemies, and receiv'd 'em into their Forts, sticking at no Treachery to compass their wicked Designs.

That the Senate, sensible of the present Exigencies, and knowing how prejudicial the excessive Power and Wealth of the Bishops was to the Peace of *Sweden*, had wisely ordain'd, that two Thirds
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1527. of the Tithes shou'd be apply'd to the Maintenance and Subsistence of the Army. That the King desir'd that his late Declarations, and the Senate's Decree, which aimed at nothing but the ease of the People, shou'd be confirm'd by the Estates. That both the Regular and Secular Clergy should forthwith restore to the Crown, to the Nobility, and to all private Persons, the Lands and Estates which they pretended had been bequeath'd to 'em since the Reign and Prohibition of King *Canutson*. That they shou'd be oblig'd to contribute, as well as the Laity to the support of the Army, proportionably to their ancient Estates and Acquisitions: That the Bishops shou'd not hereafter inherit the Estates of the inferiour Clergy, by which means the best Families of the Kingdom insensible decay'd and came to ruin. That those Prelates shou'd renounce their pretended Right and Penalties and Forfeitures. That they shou'd forthwith put the King in possession of their Forts, which had often serv'd for a shelter to Seditious and Rebellions Persons. And Lastly, that they shou'd be for ever excluded from the Senate, or any share in the Government.

No sooner had the Chancellor ended his Speech, but the Bishop of *Lincopine* stood up to oppose him, and spoke to this effect. That it was no wonder to hear of that bold Proposal, to take away the Church-Lands from the Clergy, while the *Lutherans* were countenanced in their endeavours to extirpate the true Religion. He declared to the Estates, that he and the whole Clergy were resolv'd to defend the Catholick Faith, never to part with any Church-Lands, or yield up any of their Rights or Priviledges, without an express Order from the Pope, whom they own'd as the Supreme Disposer of the Church Revenues, as he was the Infallible Judge in Matters of Religion.

The King, amaz'd at the boldness of that Prelate, turn'd towards the Senators and the Nobility, as it were to ingage some of 'em to make a sutable reply. Immediately *Tureiohanfon* stood up; who, far from siding with the King, told him with a great deal of confidence, that the Bishop of *Lincopine* cou'd not be too much commended for his Zeal, and that he wish'd all the *Swedes* were inspir'd with so noble a resolution to defend the Catholick Faith and the Liberty of the Nation: He was applauded by the Bishops and the whole Clergy, and their Acclamations were seconded by many Deputies of *West-Gothland*, who bewail'd in secret the decaying State of the Ancient Religion, but durst not freely speak their mind for fear of the King's displeasure.

Tureiohanfon's discourse, and the Applause it met with among those of his party, did both surprise the King, and stir up his Passion: He complain'd of their ingratitude and want of respect, and told them that the *Swedes* cou'd neither live without Kings, nor endure 'em after they were chosen; that he was sensible, his Declarations against the Clergy and the Senate's Decree concerning Tithes, had procur'd him more Enemies in the Kingdom, than he had among the Neighbouring Nations, who envi'd the Happiness of *Sweden*; that he knew, there were many in that Assembly, who (according to the *Swedish* Proverb) wished the Head of an Ax struck deep into his Head, tho' none were so bold as to take up the handle; and that they were grossly mistaken, if they thought he mounted the Throne, as an Actor comes upon a Stage, only to personate a King: He declar'd withal, that he expected obedience, and that in the present juncture of Affairs it was requisite he shou'd use an absolute Power, to resist the Designs and Attempts both of the Emperor and King *Christiurn*.

1527. But if they thought he cou'd not justly require Obedience and Submission, he protested that he was ready to resign the Crown. That he only demanded a re-imbursment for the Charge he had been at for the defence of the State, since he undertook the Government; that afterwards he wou'd let them peaceably enjoy the Fruit of his Victories, and solemnly promise to leave the Kingdom, for ever. At these words Grief and Anger drew some Tears from his Eyes, and without expecting an answer he suddenly left the Assembly, and went into the Castle, follow'd by the Principal Officers of his Army; who urg'd him, to assume an absolute Power, and offer'd to execute his Orders without the consent of the Estates.

The Chancellor staid, to hinder the Estates from taking any Resolutions contrary to the King's Interest, in his Absence. But nothing was concluded that Day. The Temporal Senators and principal Lords, alarmed at the angry Retreat of *Gustavus*, rose up immediately, as if they had been afraid to be seen in the Company of the King's Adversaries. On the other Hand the Bishops and the whole Clergy, most of the Lords of *West-Gothland*, and all the Rabble of *Westeras* conducted *Tureiobanson* home as it were in Triumph.

That haughty Lord was so puff'd up with their Applauses, that he cou'd not conceal his Joy to see himself at the Head of a Party which he lookt upon as formidable to the King. He fancy'd that he should Govern the Estates, and by his Authority influence all their resolutions. He enter'd his House with the sound of Trumpets and Kettle Drums, elevated with his present success, without considering, that the Favour of the People is usually short-liv'd, and that 'tis extreamly hard for a great Man to come off with Honour when the Prince's Authority seems to be slighted or disregarded.

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The Estates met again the next Day, which was spent wholly in Contests on both sides. *Olaus Petri* made a new Challenge to Dr. *Gallus*, but it came to nothing; because *Gallus* wou'd argue in *Latin*, and in a Scholastic manner, and *Olaus* resolv'd to dispute in the *Swedish* Tongue. The Assembly was divided into two Parties; one that stood up for the Preservation of the Rights and Privileges of the Church, as the greatest Bulwark of the ancient Religion; and the other, considering *Luther's* Doctrine as a problematical and indifferent Opinion, till the Church shou'd decide the Controversy in a general Council, were for an intire submission to the King's Will.

The Chancellor omitted nothing to make the chief Deputies sensible, that Kingdoms ought not to be Rul'd by the Maxims of Priests and Monks, who have a separate Interest from that of the State, owning a Foreign Prince, the Pope, for their Sovereign. That the safety of the State, upon all Occasions and in all Emergencies, ought to be the prime and over-ruling Law; and all other humane Constitutions being made only for the Preservation of Civil Society, the Prince and supream Magistrate ought to be vested with a Power to alter 'em, according to the Exigencies and Temper of every Nation. That the greatest part of the Ecclesiasticks and Monks had seiz'd on the whole Wealth of the Kingdom, under different Pretences of Devotion. That the Bishops, by the Claim they assum'd of being the sole Heirs of the Priests, ruin'd daily some of the best Families; and by that Title, as well as their pretended Right to Penalties and Confiscations, incroach'd insensibly upon all the Estates; that they secur'd their unjust Acquisitionss from all Attempts of Recovery, under the Name of Church Lands; terrifying with the Bug-bear of Excommunication, all that shou'd offer just Complaints against their Oppression, and brand-

1527. branding with Heresy any Opinion condemned by the Pope as Heretical, tho' they deem'd him no otherwise Infallible, than so far as his Infallibility consisted with their Interests.

By such Discourses, and other secret Ways, the Chancellor brought over most of the Deputies to the King's Party; and gain'd many of the Clergy themselves to yield to his Arguments, under pretext that Religion was not the Thing aimed at, but meerly a Temporal Concern; besides, that they were overaw'd by the Power and the Anger of the King, and terrify'd with this Notion, That too obstinate a Resistance was next to down-right Treason and Rebellion.

The King had already made sure of the best part of the Assembly, when *Tureiohanson*, flattering himself with the imaginary Strength of his Party, talkt of nothing but burning the Hereticks, and urg'd the Estates, with a great deal of Earnestness, to make a Law to declare *Lutherans* incapable of possessing the Crown, with a secret Design to exclude the King, and that he might have a sufficient Ground to oppose the Solemnity of his Coronation. This Point was debated with a great deal of heat in the Assembly, every one speaking according to his Interest or Inclination; when the Bishop of *Strignez*, who had been secretly gain'd by the Court, desir'd leave to speak.

1601. 1. 6.
p. 270.

As soon as that Prelate had obtain'd liberty to be heard, he told the Estates, That he was surpriz'd to see Men in that Assembly who had the confidence to speak so publickly of the King's Abdication, almost within his hearing, or at least under the Canon of his Castle. That Matters of such vast Importance were not to be decided by Caballing, or Plurality of Voices. That there were many in that Assembly who cou'd signalize their Courage against his as in a Field of Battel, and yet perhaps cou'd hardly

hardly bear the very Looks and Presence of their King, if he shou'd appear in Arms. He ask'd 'em what Forces they had to oppose a Prince who had the sole Command of all the Troops? And, in case he were willing to Abdicate, whether they had a sufficient Fund to repay him the vast Charge he had been at for the Defence of the State?

He added, That 'twas not an easy matter to reckon with a great Captain at the Head of a considerable Army, who might as long as he pleas'd retain the Sovereign Power, for a Pledge of Payment. That they were grossly mistaken if they thought that *Sweden* under another Prince, or another Form of Government, was able to make a long Resistance against so many Enemies with which the Kingdom was surrounded. That all intelligent Persons were sensible, that the Power and Strength of the Kingdom lay more in the King's Person than Dignity; that his Majesty cou'd never make a step to quit the Throne, but what wou'd make way for the Kings of *Denmark*, *Christiern* or *Frederick* to ascend it; and that 'twas only his Courage and Valor that kept all the Enemies of the Nation in awe.

The same Prelate added, That tho' the King did not appear a Friend to the Clergy, yet the prevailing Power of Truth, and the cordial Affection he bore to the State oblig'd him to own, that the safety of the Kingdom depended entirely upon his Royal Person. That he acknowledg'd the *Great Marshal's* Zeal was to be commended, by which he had laid eternal Obligations upon both the Regular and Secular Clergy; but that a violent and unlimited Zeal had often occasion'd great Mischiefs. That for his part he thought it more expedient for 'em to quit some Rights, and to give up some of their Privileges, at a time when their Compliance was so necessary for the preservation of the Kingdom, than by too great a Stiffness and Self-interestedness to

1525. exasperate a Prince who was equally powerful and necessary. That however it was unreasonable to suspect that the King had chang'd his Religion, merely because he wou'd not burn all those who said their Prayers in their Mother Tongue. That the King had often declar'd, he was resolv'd to persist in the Religion of his Ancestors. That, after all, they cou'd not but own, that the Monks had, under the pretence of Devotion, introduc'd into the Church many Superstitions, which utterly defac'd the Christian Religion. That the King, with the help of the ablest Men of the Kingdom, might correct those Abuses, without giving any occasion to accuse or suspect him of a Design to incroach upon Religion, and that he might shake off the Yoak of the Court of *Rome*, without separating from the Communion of the *Roman* Church.

This Prelate's Discourse made the greater Impression upon the Estates, because 'twas not expected from one of his Character. The Bishops and the whole Clergy were full of Rage and Indignation, but he receiv'd a loud and general Applause from almost all the rest of the Assembly. In short, his Discourse seem'd at once to have dispers'd all those Inchantments, which had made 'em so long oppose the King's Designs. They lookt upon his Absence both as their Fault and Misfortune. Their Heat against their Prince was chang'd to an Emulation among 'em to give him what satisfaction he demanded, that they might have the Happiness to see him sooner at the Head of the Assembly. Immediately they made a Declaration sutable to his Intentions, notwithstanding the clamorous opposition of the Clergy; and notice was given to the *Great Marshal* that it was not safe for him to make so great a noise in the Assembly. The Deputies of the Commonalty, believing that the Contest was merely about Temporal Affairs, made high Proclamations,

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that

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that they wou'd cut in pieces the first Man who shou'd offer to oppose the King's Will. And these Menaces struck such a Terror in the Minds of *Tureichanson* and the Lords of *West-Gothland*, that they were forc'd to be silent and withdraw. 1527.

At last it was solemnly Enacted by the Estates, That the Bishops shou'd immediately put their Forts into the Hands of the King's Officers, and disband their Troops and Garrisons. That those Prelates shou'd not any more be admitted into the Senate, as being a hinderance to the discharge of their Ministerial Functions. That it shou'd not be in their power to deprive the lawful Heirs of Ecclesiasticks, of their Right of Inheritance; nor shou'd thereafter convert to their own Uses the Penalties and Forfeitures, which properly belong'd to the Crown. That all superfluous Church-plate and useles Bells shou'd be apply'd to pay the Regency of *Lubeck*. That all Church-Lands that had accru'd to the Clergy, by Foundations made since the Prohibition of *K. Canutson*, shou'd be re-united to the Crown. That the Nobility and Gentry might recover their Estates mortgag'd to the Church, by paying off the Mortgage. That the two Thirds of the Tithes, injoy'd by most Bishops and Abbots, shou'd be sequester'd for the subsistence of the Troops, so long as there shou'd be any Ground to apprehend a War in the Kingdom; and that in time of Peace they shou'd be apply'd to the Erecting and Indowing of publick Schools and Hospitals in all the Provinces. That those among the Clergy shou'd be severely Punish'd, who shou'd offer to Excommunicate any one for a merely Temporal Concern. That the Magistrates shou'd restrain the *Mendicant* Friars from their usual Rambles, and the King shou'd dispose, at his pleasure, of all the Priviledges of the Clergy. Lastly, by the Chancellor's cunning Insinuation, it was order'd, That all considerable Churches shou'd be pro-

1527. vided with learned and godly Men, that shou'd expound to the People the pure Word of God ; which in the Language of those Times signify'd, that *Lutheranism* shou'd be preach'd with Authority.

No sooner was this Act put into form, but all the Deputies sign'd it ; and even the Bishops, who were not well united among themselves. Some of 'em were gain'd by the Court, and others out of fear were forc'd to subscribe ; tho' they plainly saw that they sign'd the Abdication of their Dignities, and even an Article contrary to the Catholick Religion. The Estates pray'd the Chancellor and Dr. *Olaus Petri* to carry the Act to the King ; and charg'd 'em to assure his Majesty, that he shou'd never hereafter find any opposition to his Will in that Assembly.

The King, having thus brought 'em to his own Terms, went to the Assembly, where, by the Chancellor's Mouth he thank'd the Deputies for their having at last taken Resolutions sutable to the present Exigencies. He assur'd 'em, That henceforward he wou'd have a particular regard for the People ; and that he hop'd, by the help of that Supply alone which they had now granted him, *Sweden* shou'd have no cause to fear her Enemies. Then he dismiss'd the Estates, with Assurances of his Gratitude to such among the Deputies as had express'd most Zeal for his Interest.

By this Act *Gustavus*, finding himself Master in a manner both of the Wealth and Religion of the Church, went at the Head of a Body of Horse to see the Act put in execution. He past successively from Province to Province, attended by *Olaus Petri* and many other *Lutheran* Doctors, whom he order'd to Preach before him in the principal Churches. At the same time he commanded the Titles of all Church-Lands to be brought before him ; Re-uniting presently to his Demeln, and restoring to the ancient

1527.

cient Proprietors or their Heirs, such Lands as the Clergy had acquir'd since the Reign of King *Canusson*. By which means he recover'd both from the Regular and Secular Clergy more than two Thirds of their Revenues, and by computation seiz'd upon Thirteen Thousand considerable Farms, some of which he reunited to his own Demesns, and with the rest he recompens'd his Creatures and the Principal Officers of his Army. At the same time he made great Sums of Money of the Church-Plate, which he caus'd to be melted down to enrich the publick Treasury.

The Progress of the King all over his Kingdom gave the Final Blow to the Catholick Religion. An open War was in a manner declar'd against the Clergy, and the Foundations of the old Religion were undermin'd by the Flight or Change of its Ministers. There could be no want of pretences at a time when none were requir'd to turn Priests out of their Benefices for perleivering in the profession of their Ancient Religion.

Most Curates and other Benefic'd Clergy-Men scrupl'd not to own the *Lutheran* Doctrin, to keep their Dwelling-Houses and part of their Livings. Many of 'em were only requir'd to Marry, and to introduce into their Churches the Divine Service in the Vulgar Tongue, which was the surest mark of a Priest's conversion to *Lutheranism*. The Bishop of *Lincopine* retir'd to *Poland*, and the rest of the Prelates lay sculking in their Houses without daring to perform the Functions of their Ministry, for fear of exposing themselves to new Persecutions. They waited with a servile patience for the King's Orders to dispose of their Persons and Dignities, always ready to yield him obedience; but much more vex'd at the Alteration he made in their Revenues, than for the change of Religion. The Bishop of *Scara*, who was not well acquainted with the

1527 controversies that were agitated among the Divines on both sides, was the only Bishop who resolv'd to defend by the strength of Arms his Dignity and the Revenues of his Church. In pursuance of this Design, he engag'd *Tureihanson* with several Lords of *West-Gotbland*, who endeavour'd to raise an Insurrection in that Province; but the Country-People were so prepossess'd with Esteem and Respect for the King, that they refus'd to rise up in Arms; and the Bishop saw himself abandon'd by the whole Chapter which began to favour *Luther's* Opinions.

The greatest part of the Monks quitted their Monastries, some out of a desire of Liberty, and others for want of a settl'd subsistence. Those who remain'd stedfast in their Religion fled to the *Dalecarlians*, who had openly declar'd against *Lutheranism*. There these miserable Fugitives thought to have their Wants reliev'd and their Grievances redress'd. *Dalecarlia*, as I said before, is a remote Province in the Northern parts of *Sweden*, inhabited by a rude and ignorant People, fond of their Ancient Religion, almost meer Savages, inur'd to hardship, and in that respect fit for War, but incapable of Discipline. The whole Province swarm'd with Ecclesiasticks, both of the Secular and Regular Clergy, old Men and Women loaded with young Children; who having quitted their Households, chose rather to wander in the Mountains, than embrace *Lutheranism*. The *Dalecarlians*, mov'd with their complaints, and incens'd at the sight of the new Pastors in their Churches, or of the old ones who alter'd the usual Ceremonies, took up Arms with a great deal of fury: The Priests and Monks joyn'd with 'em, and all the Catholicks and Malecontents espous'd their Quarrel; some out of zeal for their Ancient Religion, and others out of spite because they had no share in the Spoils of the Church.

The

The Bishop of *Scara* no sooner heard of this Commotion, but he fled privately to that Province, to joyn with the Rebels. He was accompany'd by the Great Marshal, and many Gentlemen of *West-Gothland*; who had engag'd not to lay down their Arms, till they had obtain'd the Restoration of the Ancient Religion. They were receiv'd with great Acclamations by the *Dalecarlians*, who gave the general Command of their Forces to *Tureiohan-son*.

This Lord had three Sons, the two Eldest of whom were near the King's Person, and the Third was Grand Provost of the Cathedral of *Upsal*, who hearing that his Father was at the head of the Rebels, made it his business to scatter Manifestos against the King thro' the whole Province of *Upland*; exhorting the People to take up Arms and revenge the Injuries that were done to the Altars; and to encourage the People by his example, he put himself at the head of some Troops. In the mean time the great Marshal, his Father sent order to his two other Sons, to steal away from the Court, and joyn their Brother, or come to him with as many of their Friends as they cou'd perswade to follow 'em. But these young Lords, were highly displeas'd with their Father's Rebellion, which oblig'd 'em either to declare against him, or against their Sovereign, and of two Duties which appear'd to 'em equally indispensable, to chuse the one, and renounce the other.

But their Allegiance to the King prevail'd at last over their Duty to their Father, and even to Religion it self. They concluded, that in a State-Affair they ought to adhere to the Supream Authority, and that the difference of Religious Worship was not a sufficient ground to excuse 'em from the obedience they ow'd to their Lawful Prince. They consider'd besides, that their Loyalty to the

1527. King might probably obtain their Father's Pardon; and that it was more agreeable to the rules of prudence, to put themselves in a condition by their Fidelity to obtain Pardon for their Father, than to make themselves guilty of the same Crime, in expectation of a better Fortune. Upon these considerations they deliver'd their Letters to the King, protesting that they were ready to lay down their Lives for his service. *Gustavus* receiv'd 'em very graciously, and promis'd to prefer 'em: But seem'd neither to be surpriz'd nor alarm'd at the News. Nor did he make any apparent preparations, in order to reduce the Rebels; saying that he wou'd decline appearing in Arms, that his Subjects might not be oblig'd to fight against each other, and that he hop'd to crush the Rebellion by gentler Methods.

Yet he lost no time, but made his Troops secretly file off by different ways, towards the Borders of *Dalecarlia*, that he might be all of a sudden in a condition to reduce the Rebels by the fear of Punishment. Upon the first News of the Insurrection he had sent some Persons from Court, who had Friends among the Malecontents, and were not unknown among the *Dalecarlians*, with instructions to reduce the Rebels by fair means. These Agents apply'd themselves first to the Bishop of *Scara*, the great Marshal, and other Malecontents that had joyn'd the *Dalecarlians*. They endeavour'd to gain the leading Men by advantageous Offers, but they found 'em most obstinate; and those who were willing to treat, had so little an influence upon the party, and stood upon so high Terms, that the Agents did not think fit to buy 'em off at so great a rate. They had better success among the *Dalecarlian* Peasants, whom they prevail'd upon to send Deputies to the Court; perswading 'em, that his Majesty wou'd deny nothing to a People to whom

he ow'd his Crown and Glory; but their true design was only to amuse 'em, that they might be less cautious in providing for their own defence. 1527.

The Deputies of the *Dalecarlians*, not penetrating into the King's Policy, but concluding by the steps he made, that he stood in Awe of 'em, thought they might easily make their own Terms. In the Name of their Province, and of all the Roman Catholicks of the Kingdom, they demanded that *Lutheranism* shou'd be punish'd in *Sweden* as a Capital Crime; that the Marriage of Priests and Monks shou'd be Abolish'd; the Bells and Church-Plate restor'd; and all Persons Burnt without any Regard or Distinction, that shou'd be convicted to have eaten Flesh on Fish-Days. That the King shou'd oblige himself, after the example of his Predecessors, never to pass the River of *Brunebeck*, which separates their Province from *Westmania*, without giving 'em Hostages for the security of their Priviledges. But, above all, that both King and Courtiers shou'd reassume the ancient Habit of *Sweden*, and not be beholden to strangers for new Fashions and Dresses.

Gustavus gave the Deputies great hopes that he wou'd grant at least part of their Demands; while he secretly put all things in a readiness to surprize the Rebels, with his whole Army. Having receiv'd advice, that his Troops were come within a days March of their appointed Rendezvous, he immediately dismiss'd the Deputies, and order'd them to tell their Country-men that he wou'd never condescend to treat with his Subjects, and that they might appear in Arms in the Plain of *Tinna*, to fight the Battel he was resolv'd to offer them at the head of his Army. He added, that if they wou'd avoid the effects of his indignation, they must expel the Malecontents out of their Province, lay down their Arms, and submit to his Mercy.

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1525.

As soon as the King had dismiss'd the Deputies, he took Post immediately for the Army; and the Rebels, were so amaz'd at his unexpected Diligence and Resolution, that they were seiz'd with a sudden Fear and Consternation when they heard of his Approach. *Tureiohan*son and those of his party suspected the *Dalecarlians*, and fancy'd they had made a separate Peace for themselves; and the Peasants reciprocally thought they were betray'd by the Lords. In short, they were jealous of each other, and their mutual suspicion and distrust was by degrees chang'd to Hatred and Enmity.

The Bishop of *Scara* and *Tureiohan*son not thinking themselves safe with the *Dalecarlians* made their escape privately into *Normay*; from whence they retir'd to King *Christiern* in the Low-Countries; and the rest of the Malecontents, alarm'd at their flight, some fled one way, some another. The *Dalecarlians*, seeing themselves without a Head or Leader, resolv'd to submit, and yield to their Prince's Mercy. They went to the Plain of *Tuna*, where the King staid for 'em at the Head of his Army. He commanded his Horse to surround 'em, and the Rebels at the same time to discover their Ring leaders. The affrighted Peasants declar'd their names and the King immediately caus'd 'em to be Beheaded, to curb by so necessary a severity the seditious and inconstant Humor of these People. Thus by an innocent Artifice and commendable Diligence, he appeas'd a furious Insurrection, without any Effusion of Blood, or Diminution of his Forces.

These were the last Efforts of an Unbridl'd and Tumultuous Liberty, which was forc'd to give way to a more absolute, and consequently more peaceful Dominion. After this the whole Kingdom submitted to the King, and all his Subjects imbrac'd *Lutheranism*; some out of regard to their private Interest, and to make their Court, and others out of

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of their abhorrence of the irregular Life of the Clergy. The *Lutheran* Doctors gain'd some Profelytes by perswading 'em that their Masters Opinions in Matters of Religion, which were falsely reckon'd Innovations, were nothing else but primitive Christianity restor'd and purg'd from all Monkish Superstitions; and many were glad to be convinc'd of the Truth of the prevailing Religion, that they might preserve their Estates without being forc'd to seek their Fortunes abroad.

1527.

Gustavus, seeing that most of his Subjects had chang'd their Religion, at last declar'd himself a *Lutheran*. He made *Olaus Petri* Pastor of the Church of *Stockholm*, and his Brother *Laurentius Petri* Archbishop of *Upsal*. Upon this new Prelate, he bestow'd a Lady who was related to him, that the Honor of his Alliance might oblige the People to entertain less scandalous notions of a Marri'd Priest; or perhaps that so illustrious a Match might make amends for the great Revenues he had withdrawn from so rich a Benefice. The King's Coronation follow'd soon after, and was perform'd at *Upsal* by this Prelate, with great Solemnity, and at the same time he Confer'd the Honor of Knighthood on all the Senators, and the chief Lords of the Court.

1528.

January,
12.

Sweden was *Lutheran* all over, King, Senators, Bishops, and all the Nobility made publick Profession of that Religion. But, whereas most of the Country Curates and others of the inferior Clergy had imbrac'd it meerly by force, or out of weakness, an extravagant Medley of Roman Ceremonies and *Lutheran* Prayers was introduc'd into several Churches in the Kingdom. Some Married Priests, and Curates continu'd still to say Mass in several Places, according to the Roman Ritual and Liturgy. Baptism was administred with all the Prayers and Exorcisms appointed by the Church; and the Dead were

1528. were Bur'd with the same Prayers that are us'd to beg God to relieve the Souls of the Faithful, tho' the Doctrin of Purgatory was condemn'd by the *Lutherans*.

The King, desirous to establish an uniformity of Worship throughout the whole Kingdom, a thing so necessary for the publick Peace, especially in a Monarchy, call a general Assembly of the whole Clergy, in the form of a National Council.

1529. The Assembly was held at *Orebro*, the chief Town of *Nericia*, and the Chancellor *Lardz-Anderson* presided in the Kings Name. This *Lutheran* Council was compos'd of the Bishops, Doctors, and Pastors of the principal Churches. They own'd the *Augsburg-Confession* as the Rule and Standard of their Faith, and solemnly renounc'd their Obedience to the Pope, as Head of the Church. They order'd the Roman Worship to be intirely abolish'd, prohibited all Prayers for the Dead, borrow'd from the *Lutheran Churches of Germany* the manner of administring Baptism and the Communion, declar'd the Marriage of Priests Lawful, and Condemn'd Celibacy and Monastick Vows. They confirm'd the Ordinance of the Estates at *Westeras*, by which the Church lost her Priviledges, and the greatest part of her Revenues. And, which is observable, these Regulations were made by almost the same Persons who the Year before had shew'd so much zeal for the Defence of the Ancient Religion; so few there are that can long withstand the fear of Persecution, or the hopes of Favour.

Yet they met with great difficulties in abolishing the Practice of the Roman Church in the Administration of the Sacraments. The People, and the Women especially, cou'd not be satisfy'd without the Ceremonies of Baptism, and the Prayers for the Dead. The whole Kingdom was fill'd with Murmurs and Complaints upon the Occasion. Most

Women,

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Women, thro' an excessive Fear, proceeding perhaps as much from their Temper as Virtue, thought their Children cou'd not be well baptiz'd without the use of Salt and Exorcisms. And a small residue of Faith as to the belief of Purgatory created such a disturbance in their Minds, on the account of their deceas'd Relations, as cou'd not be allay'd by all the Eloquence of the *Lutheran* Doctors.

Gustavus, fearing the Complaints and Discontent of the People shou'd break out into a new Rebellion, order'd the *Lutheran* Ministers to comply with those who stood up obstinately for the ancient Ceremonies, and not to use the new, but where they found a Temper dispos'd to receive 'em.

The King having thus compleated the alteration of Religion, undertook another Project which gave him no less hope of filling his Coffers. Most of the *Swedish* Provinces were formerly over-spread with vast Forests. King *Olaus Trætzelga*, *Amand*, and some of their Successors, caus'd a great part of 'em to be Dis-forested, and bestow'd these new Lands in Fee-farm upon the Nobility and Gentry, for which they were to pay a certain Duty to the Crown. The Lords and Gentlemen had, by degrees, during the Civil Wars, exempted themselves from paying those ancient Duties, and a long Prescription seem'd to have abolish'd 'em, till they were reviv'd by the King, who requir'd both from the Nobility and Gentry, either to part with their *Fiefs* or to pay Rents at which they were originally tax'd. The Claims and Demands of this Prince differ'd not much from the most arbitrary Laws and Decrees; and the Parties concern'd, alarm'd at this after-clap, offer'd to come to a fair Composition. The chief Lords of each Province came and treated about it with the Chancellor, and agreed to pay to the King Ten Marks of Silver for every Fief or Mannor, or (as it was then call'd) for every Land that paid Tribute to the Crown.

Thus

1529.

1530.

As. 294

1530.



Thus every thing succeeded with this Prince according to his desire, and even beyond his hope. He look'd upon the alteration of Religion as the happiest and most important passage of his Reign; and the humbling of the Clergy, who were no less formidable to him than the *Danes*, as a second Conquest of *Sweden*. Of all his Enemies he had none left but *Christiern*, that cou'd make him uneasy, or occasion the least disturbance. That Prince was still in *Flanders*, from whence he earnestly solicited the Emperor, his Brother-in-law, that he wou'd contribute his assistance in order to his Restoration. *Gustavus* kept Spies about him, who gave him Intelligence, that *Christiern* was levying Soldiers in *Holland*. Fromthence he concluded, that the Threats and Design of a Descent in the Northern Kingdoms were ready to break out into Action, and that *Sweden* and *Denmark* were like to be the Scene of the War. He immediately sent notice of it to *Frederick K.* of *Denmark*; and at the same time thought it convenient to fortify himself against the Designs of the House of *Austria*, by some considerable Alliance. He conceiv'd, that the *Lutheran* Princes of *Germany*, who were extremely jealous of the Emperor's Power, wou'd be easily perswaded to support his Interest, by reason of their Conformity in point of Religion. Upon these Considerations he demanded in Marriage the eldest Daughter of the Duke of *Saxe-Lawenburg*. The Duke, charm'd with the valor and fame of *Gustavus*, heard the Proposal with great satisfaction, and sent the Princess, his Daughter, with a numerous Attendance to *Lubeck*, whither *Gustavus* sent his whole Fleet to receive her. After her arrival at *Stockholm*, the Marriage was consummated with all the Joy and Magnificence that are usual on such Occasions. At the same time the King sent the late *Administrator's* Son to the Duke of *Saxe*, his Father-in-law, under pretext of improving his Knowledge,

1531.

Sept. 24.

by

by making him Travel; but in effect that he might remove, from the sight of the *Swedes*, a young Prince that seem'd to have a better Title to the Crown, whose Presence stirr'd up the Compassion of the most Moderate, and might serve for a Pretence to all dissaffected Persons.

1531.

Gustavus's Nuptial Ceremonies were scarce at an end, when he receiv'd Intelligence, that a great number of Troops rais'd for the late King *Christiern*, were privately Imbarking at one of the Ports of *Holland*. Upon which he dispatch'd a new Courier to the K. of *Denmark* (according to a former Agreement) and at the same time put himself at the Head of his Army, both to observe the Enemy, and to hinder the Catholics and Malecontents from favoring the Descent of that Prince.

The Emperor had all along flatter'd him with hopes, that he wou'd undertake the Expedition himself, with all the Forces of the Empire. But the almost continual War in which he was engag'd with *France*, broke that Design; so that *Christiern*, discourag'd by so many Disappointments and weary of personating so long, in a Foreign Country, a King without a Crown, resolv'd, with some Troops he had gather'd from several Parts, to try his Fortune, and endeavour to force a Passage into his own Dominions.

Tureiohan, who was always as brave as a Hero at plotting and contriving Work for others, us'd all possible Arguments to persuade that Prince to make an Attempt upon *Sweden*. To flatter him, and at the same time to engage him in a Design that cou'd not be prosecuted without his Assistance, he assur'd him, that the *Swedes* were so incens'd at the late Change of Religion, that they long'd for his Restoration. That 'twou'd be sufficient to land 3000 Horse in that Kingdom, and that the first Mass that was said in his Camp wou'd draw thither all the Male-

1531. Malecontents, and even many of *Gustavus's* own Soldiers. That notwithstanding the fam'd Politicks and Subtilty of that Prince, he had sign'd his own *Abdication* in the Assembly of the Clergy at *Orebro*, by abolishing the Catholick Religion. That, excepting a small number of Courtiers, and some military Officers who had a share in the spoils of the Clergy, the whole Nation detested his Tyranny and the Change of Religion. That he had disbanded his Foreign Horse, and that his Foot consisted only of an undisciplin'd Militia, the greatest part of whom wou'd certainly desert *Gustavus*, as soon as King *Christiern* shou'd declare, that his only Design was to restore the true Religion, and to redress the Grievances of the Clergy.

Upon these plausible Assurances, *Christiern* resolv'd to try the chance of War, with about Ten thousand Men of different Nations, whom he had list'd in his Service during his abode in the *Low Countries*. With this Body of Men, imbarck'd in Thirty Ships, he set out of a Port in *Holland*, and steer'd his Course for *Norway*, which at that time was almost destitute of Troops and Garrisons, which seem'd to be a needless Precaution in a Country that was sufficiently defended by the Barrenness of its Soil, and the Rocks and Mountains with which 'tis overspread. *Christiern* knew, that he was less expected there, than in *Denmark* or *Sweden*, and from thence he design'd to enter *Sweden*, either by *West-Gothland* or *Dalecarlia*; imagining, that the Country People of these Provinces, were still so incens'd at the Execution of their Country-men, that they wou'd immediately rise up again in Arms, and favor his Attempt.

1532. This unfortunate Prince met in his voyage with a terrible Storm, which dispers'd all his Fleet, and sunk some of his Ships. He narrowly escap'd Shipwreck upon the Coast of *Norway*, and with much ado

a do got to the Bay of *Babus*, with the shatter'd remainders of his Fleet; where he landed without the least opposition, and resolv'd to march to *West-Gothland*, as a more commodious place for the subsistence of his Troops: But, upon Information that there was a considerable Body of Horse upon the Borders, to oppose his Passage, he was oblig'd to march Northwards, towards *Dalecarlia*. In his way he besieg'd a Town call'd *Obflo*, which yielded on the first Summons, not being in a condition to make any Resistance. After that he storm'd the Castle of *Carlofsadt*, and some days after made himself Master of *Congeli*. These small Successes drew into his Army a great number of Country People of *Norway*, encourag'd with the hopes of plund'ring the *Sweedish* Frontiers; and Archbishop *Trolle* joyn'd him with some Troops he had rais'd in *Brandenburg*.

Christiern had perhaps as little Respect for the Church of *Rome* as *Gustavus*; but 'twas his Interest to appear a zealous Assertor of that Religion since his Enemy was a profess'd *Lutheran*, and since the Success of his Designs depended entirely on the Assistance of the Clergy and Catholics. He publish'd a General Pardon, by way of a Manifesto; in which he declar'd, That his principal Design was the Re-establishment of the old Religion. This Declaration was industriously dispers'd by the Archbishop's Emissaries; who made it their Business to perswade People ev'rywhere, That *Christiern* had learn'd Wisdom and Moderation in the School of Adversity; That he was become a mild, affable and most gracious Prince; but especially, that in *Flanders*, and so near the House of *Austria*, he had contracted an unalterable Affection and Zeal for the Catholick Religion.

This Manifesto, and these private Insinuations drew into his Party many *Swedes*, who still adher'd to that Religion: And among others some *Dalecar-*

1532. *lians*, who invited him to march into their Province. These Peasants could not brook the Change of Church Ceremonies, but, above all things, could not endure to hear the Praises of God sung in their Mother-Tongue. They offer'd to take up Arms, and to declare for him, as soon as he should enter into their Province; provided that he would oblige himself, after his Restoration, to cause all the *Lutherans* to be burnt.

But his March into that Province was stopt by the Snow, that cover'd all the Mountains which separate *Dalecarlia* from the Kingdom of *Norway*. However, that he might find some Occupation for his Army, he advanc'd towards *Akerhuys*, and laid Siege before it, notwithstanding the sharpness of the Winter. *Magnus Gyllenstiern*, a *Danish* Lord, and Viceroy of *Norway*, got into the Place, and resisted all the Promises and Threats with which *Christiern* endeavour'd to corrupt his Fidelity. He dispatch'd several Couriers to King *Frederick*, his Master, to acquaint him with the Enemy's Descent; assuring him, That *Christiern* was very much straitned for want of Provisions, and that *Akerhuys* was so well defended by the Snow and cold Weather, that he could hold out above Four Months, in expectation of Relief from *Denmark*.

No sooner was the Sea open, but *Frederick* order'd his Fleet to put to Sea, with a considerable Body of Land-Forces, under the Command of *Canut Gyllenstiern*, Bishop elect of *Odensee* in *Funen*, and *Eris Gyllenstiern*, the Viceroy of *Norway's* Brothers; Concluding, That they would use all possible Diligence to save their Brother from falling into the Hands of a Prince, who, without regarding the Faith of Treaties, seldom gave his Enemies Quarter.

Gustavus on the other side, sent several Detachments of his Forces, to cover the *Swedish* Frontiers, with Orders to his Officers to observe *Christiern's*

Mo-

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1532.

Motions, and to act joyntly with *Frederick's* Generals. He sent also a considerable number of Troops into *Dalecarlia*, to prevent an Insurrection of that rebellious People, and put himself at the head of the main Body of his Army, to keep the Catholicks and Malecontents from assisting the Rebels. The two *Danish* Generals set sail for *Norway*, with a Design to attack *Christiern's* Fleet; which they found in the Bay of *Bahus*, and burnt entirely, after a Fight that lasted a whole day. After so important a Victory they landed their Forces, and march'd immediately to relieve the Viceroy.

Christiern, upon the News of the entire Destruction of his Fleet, and the Descent of the *Danes*, rais'd the Siege of *Akerhus*. He attempted once more to enter *Sweden* by the way of *West-Gothland*, but met in his Way 3000 *Swedish* Horse, who stop't his Passage. The *Danes* and *Swedes* advancing to attack him, he threw himself into the little Town of *Congel*, where he entrench'd himself, not so much in hope of escaping from his Enemies, as to avoid the fatal Blow for some Days. There he found himself invested on all Sides, surrounded with dismal Mountains, that were still cover'd with Snow; in great want of Provisions, and straiten'd with Hunger more than by his Enemies. He was naturally subject to furious and violent Passions, which were sowr'd and heighten'd by his Disasters: He grew so jealous and dissident that he suspected *Thureiohan* of entertaining a private Correspondence with King *Gustavus*, because he had told him in *Flanders*, That there were few Horse in the *Swedish* Army; he look'd upon that unfortunate Lord with an Indignation that seem'd to denounce his approaching Fate; and ask'd him, Whether the Troops that appear'd upon the Frontiers of *Gothland* were Squadrons of *Swedish* Women? The Great Marshal wou'd have reply'd in his own Vindication, but he was order'd

1532. to withdraw, and the next day he was found in the Streets of *Congel*, wallowing in his Blood, having, in all probability, been murder'd the Night before, by secret Orders from *Christiern*.

In the mean time, that miserable Prince perceiv'd that his Ruine grew daily more inevitable; the Famine increas'd in the Town, all the Avenues were possess'd by the Enemies, and their Trenches were so strong that 'twas impossible to force 'em to fight. In these unhappy Circumstances, the starv'd and despairing *Christiern* had not so much as the sad Comfort of hoping to die with his Sword in his hand. Most of his Troops perish'd for hunger or deserted before his Eyes; his Orders were slighted, and there was not the least shadow of Discipline in his Army. Death, which seem'd unavoidable, made 'em forsake a Prince, who was neither lov'd nor fear'd. Many of his Officers fled into the *Danish* Camp, and thought themselves happy to exchange their Liberty for Bread.

The Bishop of *Odensee*, mov'd with Compassion for a Prince, that had been his Sovereign, offer'd him an Interview, to which *Christiern* consented, and both repair'd immediately to the Place appointed for their meeting. The Bishop advis'd his late Sovereign to submit to less implacable Enemies than Hunger and Misery, assuring him that 'twas still in his Power to procure honourable Terms from the King, his Uncle, since the Royal Family of *Oldenburg* was possess'd of so many Sovereignities, that there might be a Treaty set on foot, to the Advantage and Satisfaction of both Parties. He added, That if he would suffer himself to be carried to *Copenhagen* *Frederick's* Resentment would be mitigated at the Sight of an unfortunate Nephew; and at the same time he assur'd him, That in case he could not obtain honourable Terms, suitable to his Birth and Dignity, he would bring him back to *Norway*, and even to *Congel*, of which he own'd him to be Master, or else

would

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wou'd conduct him safe into the Emperor's Territories. 1532.

Christiern was so sensible of the hopelessness of his present Condition, and so earnestly importun'd by his Soldiers to accept of such Advantageous Proposals, that he consented to treat with that Prelate and his two Brothers, who commanded the *Danish* Forces. He obtain'd a Safe-Conduct and Provisions for Archbishop *Trolle* and all his Party, and put himself into the Bishop's Hands: Who, after some short stay in *Norway*, to settle Affairs in that Kingdom, departed thence with *Christiern*, to whom he gave repeated Assurances as to the Safety of his Person. But the Bishop, it seems, had exceeded his Commission; without considering, That Princes seldom forgive Attempts upon their Crowns, and that an Usurper can never promise himself a quiet Possession of his Dignity while the dispossest'd Prince is alive, and at Liberty.

As soon as *Christiern* arriv'd at *Copenhagen*, King *Frederick* sent a Captain of his Guards to secure his Person, and carry him to the Castle of *Sonderburg*; where he lay in Prison fourteen Years. 'Tis true *Christiern* III. his Cousin German, Son and immediate Successor to *Frederick*, did somewhat allay the Rigor of his Confinement; but he was forc'd to purchase that Favour with a formal Resignation of his Right to the Crowns of *Denmark*, *Sweden* and *Norway*. After his signing of that Act, he was suffer'd to take the Divertisement of Hunting or Fishing; the Revenues of the Castle of *Calemburg* and of the Isle of *Sebergard* were made over to him for his Subsistence, and the Castle of *Coldingen* for his Habitation. There he was treated like a Prince, as long as he liv'd; but, in the mean time, the Governour of the Castle kept an Eye upon him, and was oblig'd to answer for the Security of his Person.

1532.

Arch-Bishop *Trolle*, his unfortunate and only Confident, retir'd to *Lubeck* by Vertue of the safe Conduct he had got from the Bishop of *Odensee*. There he form'd some time after, a League with that Regency, and Prince *Christopher* of *Oldenburg*, a Younger Son of that Family, with a design to release *Christiern II.* who was still a Prisoner in the Castle of *Sunderberg*. In order to which that Prelate lev'd Forces and scrupl'd not once more to prophane the sanctity of his Character: He was wounded and taken Prisoner in a Battel fought in *Funen* betwixt the Forces of *Christiern III.* and those of *Lubeck*; and was carri'd to *Sleswick* in *Holstein*, where he di'd of his Wounds.

1535.

Gustavus, being thus happily deliver'd from all his Enemies, Reign'd afterwards without any Disturbance or Molestation, and with as much Authority as if the Crown had been his Birth-right. All the Princes of *Europe*, that had no dependency upon the House of *Austria*, gave him extraordinary marks of the singular Esteem they had for his Personal Merit and Valour. *Francis I.* King of *France*, notwithstanding their Difference in Point of Religion, sent him the order of *St. Michael*, the only Order that was then establish'd in *France*. A defensive League was made betwixt these two Princes against the Emperor and the House of *Austria*, by which they were both engag'd to Assist each other, in case of War, with 6000 Men, to be paid by the Assistant; and, if Occasion requir'd, to Assist the Invaded Prince with 25000 Men and Fifty Ships. *Gustavus* was the first King of *Sweden*, who rais'd the Reputation of the Crown, and made it appear to the World, what Influence it might have upon the general Affairs of *Europe*. The Princes of the League of *Smalcalden* invited him to joyn with them for the common Defence of their Religion, and thought themselves

1542.

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themselves happy to have so great a King on their side. 1542.

To compleat his Happiness, there was nothing wanting but the fixing of the Succession upon his Royal Issue. This was a very nice and difficult Point; for the Nobility was extremely Jealous of that Privilege, well knowing that Arbitrary Power do's commonly attend a Hereditary Succession, and that it wou'd by degrees destroy the Liberty of the Nation.

However the King call'd a meeting of the Estates of the Kingdom at *Westeras*, to abrogate the Right and Custom of Election. He put 'em in mind of the great Services his Family had done to *Sweden*, and of the fatal Consequences of the Divisions and Contests of opposite parties at Elections. His Authority was already so well Establish'd that there was not one in the Assembly who durst oppose his Desigas. The Heads of the Principal Families, and the Ancient Senators were kill'd in the Massacre of *Stockholm*, and the young Lords that came into the World since his Accession to the Crown, were accusom'd to a blind Obedience. There was not the least Foot-step left of their former Liberty, or of the Ancient constitution of their Government, so that the Deputies consented with great Submission to the abrogating of the Right of Election, in behalf of Prince *Eric* and the other Princes his Children and Successors both in the direct and collateral Line.

This Resignation was solemnly entred as a Fundamental Law, call'd the *Hereditary Union*, by which the Crown with an absolute Power was made sure to his Children and Successors. This was a very mortifying peace of News to *Christiern III.* King of *Denmark*, who still pretended a Right to the Crown of *Sweden*; for by this *Hereditary Union* the Treaty of *Calmar* was entirely disannul'd and

1544. abrogated. *Christiern* quarter'd the *Three Crowns* in his Coat Armorial, which are the Royal Arms of *Sweden*, as a publick Claim and Mark of his Right to that Kingdom, under pretext that *Queen Margaret* the Daughter of *Waldemar* Reign'd over the three Kingdoms of the North; tho' 'twas probably a like reason that made the Kings of *Sweden* take these *Three Crowns* for their Arms, since they are found in the Shields and Seals of the Kings *Steric* and *Birger* II. about the middle of the Twelfth Age.

King *Gustavus* sent an Embassy to *Christiern*, to complain of his Attempt; but cou'd obtain no satisfaction from a Young and Ambitious Prince, who was puff'd up with some Advantages he had gotten over the *Hanse-Towns*, and obstinately resolv'd to pursue his Ancient Claim. *Gustavus* finding himself weakn'd and spent with Age, and the Fatigues of War, conceal'd his Resentment; and did not think it convenient to ingage in a new War, or to hazard his Fortune and that of his Children, at a time when he maintain'd his Authority rather by his Reputation, than by his Valour. He was so far from dreading the opposition of a pretended Claim against the actual Possession of a Crown which had lately been Intail'd upon his Issue by a Solemn Act, that he contented himself with procuring a Treaty to be set on foot at *Bromsebroo*, by which 'twas mutually agreed to leave the difference undecided for the space of Fifty Years.

Gustavus, having thus settl'd a solid and durable Peace in his Dominions, apply'd himself wholly to the Improvement of Trade; in order to which he receiv'd into his Ports all Merchant Ships from *France* and *Holland*, that his Subjects might be free'd from their dependence on the *Lubeckers*, who were possess'd of the whole Trade of *Sweden*. He erect-ed Citadels on the Frontiers of his Kingdom, and built

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built Royal Palaces in several Places with a Magnificence that till then was unknown to the *Swedes*. 1545. He never stay'd long in one place, but travell'd successively from Province to Province, always attended with a numerous Train of Courtiers, who stir'd up the Curiosity and Admiration of his People, and accustom'd 'em by their Example to respect his Authority. He sign'd all Orders and Dispatches with his own Hand, took Cognizance of all Affairs, gave Audience to all Men, and Administred Justice with great strictness and severity. All Controversies and Suits about Religion, Revenues and Buildings; and even Differences and Law-Suits betwixt Noble Men were pleaded before him, and decided by him. As he had manag'd his Wars without Generals, so he rul'd in Peace without Ministers. He reign'd alone without either Favourites or Mistresses; and the only object of all his Passions and Designs was his own Glory and the Happiness of his Subjects. Some time before his Death he began to apply his mind to the finding out of a suitable Match for his Eldest Son Prince *Eric*, that his Family might be supported by a considerable Alliance. In pursuance of this design he cast his Eyes upon *Elizabeth* Queen of *England*, who was then Courted with great Assiduity by the greatest Princes of *Europe*. But that Politick Queen had the dexterity to manage her Lovers as she pleas'd and to feed 'em all with hopes, according to her own Inclination and the posture of her Affairs; by which it appear'd, that she had taken a secret Resolution never to Marry any of 'em.

Gustavus sent an Embassy to her, to propose a strict Alliance betwixt both Nations; and the chief Embassador was charg'd to feel her Pulse, as to this Match. *Denis Beure*, the Prince's Governour, had that particular Commission from the King. He was a *Frenchman* born, but a zealous *Calvinist*;

1546. *nist*; who imagin'd that if he cou'd negotiate that Match for his Pupil, he might one Day establish *Calvinism* in Sweden.

Queen *Elizabeth* receiv'd, with all the external Marks of kindness and respect, the Proposals he made to her in the Name of his Master, relating to Trade, and the Alliance or League betwixt the two Nations; and gave him a favourable Answer with respect to Prince *Eric*, but only in general Terms. The Ambassador, fancying that all her obliging Expressions concerning that Prince were real Promises, made haste home to *Stockholm*, as if he had consummated his Negotiation. At his return he assur'd the King, that nothing but the Prince's Presence was wanting to bring it to perfection, and that he was confident his good Mien and personal Merit wou'd fix the Queen's Affections. Prince *Eric*, flatter'd with so tempting a Prospect, was very earnest with the King his Father, and press'd him hard to consent that he might take a Journey to *England*. But *Gustavus*, jealous of the Glory of his Family, wou'd not expose the presumptive Heir of the Crown to a Refusal, nor give his consent that he shou'd go out of the Kingdom, before some Articles were sign'd.

'Tis possible a more important, but more secret Reason, induc'd the King to reject that Voyage. *Eric* was a Prince indow'd with many excellent natural Qualities. He had a majestick Presence, an Air of Authority which drew Respect from all Men, a fiery Briskness in his Behavior, and a certain Ardor that was usually taken for Courage or Valor. But the lustre of all these external Advantages was obscur'd by some inward Defects that were not unknown to the King his Father, which he was willing to hide from the *English*. This Prince inherited a sort of Extravagancy or Distraction from the Queen
his

his Mother, which now and then seiz'd upon his Brain, and prompted him to outrageous Acts: There was a certain peevish Sulleness that appear'd in his Behaviour and Actions, which by an odd kind of Contagion seem'd to infect all those who approach'd him. And in his most lucid Intervals he discover'd so much hardness and wildness of Temper, that People were afraid of his Government, even before he was own'd and declar'd to be the next Successor to the King his Father.

These Considerations made such an impression upon *Gustavus*, that he was sometimes resolv'd to leave the Crown to his second Son, a generous and good-natur'd Prince, who, by his Caresses and obliging Behavior, had won the Hearts of all those who were to be his Brother's Subjects. But the King, fearing lest this Preference wou'd stir up a Civil War both in his Family and Kingdom, resolv'd at last to regulate the Succession according to the order of Birth-right. In the mean time to satisfy Prince *Eric*, whom his Tutor had inspir'd with a violent Passion for Queen *Elizabeth*, he consented at last, that Prince *John*, his second Son, shou'd go to the Court of *England* under pretence of Travelling, and indeavour to draw at least a verbal Promise from the Queen.

This young Prince, being arriv'd at *London*, was receiv'd by Queen *Elizabeth* with great Demonstrations of Joy. He had a share in all her Divertisements, and she frequently invited him to Hunting. In short, that wise Princess, who made those several Proposals of Marriage subservient to her Interest and politick Ends, omitted nothing that might amuse the young Prince, by insinuating that both his Prefence and Proposals were agreeable to her. But she declin'd engaging further in that Affair, pretending that she cou'd not in the present Juncture conclude

544. conclude that Marriage so soon as she cou'd have wish'd. This was the usual Pretext with which she amus'd all the Princes that courted her, whom she was willing to admit as Lovers, but cou'd not resolve to accept 'em for Husbands.

Upon the return of this Prince into *Sweden*, the King presently concluded that his eldest Son Prince *Eric* wou'd have no better success in the Pursuit of this Match, than the K. of *Spain*, the D. of *Alençon*, the Arch-duke of *Austria*, E. of *Leicester*, my Lord *Courtney*, and so many others, whom this Princess had flatter'd with the same Hopes, one after another, and often at the same time. But Prince *Eric* was so deluded by his Tutor's Suggestions, that he imagin'd his Presence wou'd surmount all Obstacles; and pretended that his Brother had thwarted his Inclination, either out of Jealousy or Self-interest. He solicited the Senators and the King's Ministers, both by Intreaties and Threats, to procure the King's Consent for him to go to the *English* Court. *Gustavus* considering his fierce and unruly Temper, and fearing that he wou'd either go without his Consent, or raise some Disturbance in the State, was at last persuaded to grant his Desire, and nam'd the Persons that were to attend him.

Then he made his *last Will*, and divided his Dominions among the Princes his Children: He left his Crown to Prince *Eric*, the Dukedom of *Finland* to Prince *John*, *East-Gothland* to *Magnus*, and *Sundermania* to *Charles*. The younger Princes being to enjoy their Provinces by the Title of Principalities, but on condition of paying Homage and Fealty to the Crown of *Sweden*.

Prince *Eric* was so highly displeas'd at this Distribution, that he was ready to take up Arms to demand the Revocation of the *Will*; but the fear of his Father, who was King of his *Children* as well as of his

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his *Subjects*, kept him in awe. He conceal'd his Anger, with a Resolution to do himself Justice when the supreme Power shou'd fall into his Hands; and was just ready to set Sail for *England*, when he was detain'd at the Port of *Elsburg*, by the News he receiv'd of his Father's Decease.

That great Prince was seiz'd at *Stockholm* with an inward Fever, that wasted him by degrees; yet he continu'd still to manage Affairs with his usual application, and resolv'd to Reign to the last moment of his Life. Some hours before his Death he sent for *Eric Steno* the Secretary of State, to whom he dictated Memoirs concerning the most secret Affairs of the Kingdom. Then he sent for the young Princes, and charg'd 'em to love one another, and submit peaceably to Prince *Eric*, who was now ready to mount the Throne. He gave each of 'em his Blessing, and made 'em presently withdraw, lest his Mind shou'd be disturb'd by the Tears of his Family. He dismiss'd even his Physicians, (who in that Extremity continu'd still to flatter him with hopes of Life,) that he might spend the last moments of his Life in fixing his Thoughts wholly upon God. Thus he died peaceably in the Arms of his Servants, in the 70th Year of his Age. His Body was carried to *Upsal*, where his Funeral was solemniz'd with publick Orations and Panegyricks, with the Tears of all his Subjects, and the immortal Memory of his glorious Actions.

1544.

1560.
Sept. 29.

He ow'd his Crown meerly to his own Valor, and Reign'd with as absolute a Power as if the Crown had been his Birth-right. He made what Alterations he pleas'd in Religion, the Laws, and the Property of his Subjects, and yet dy'd ador'd by the People, and admir'd by the Nobility. He left his Kingdom in Peace with all his Neighbors, secur'd by a League with *France*, and enrich'd by a flourishing Trade.

1560. Trade with all the Nations of *Europe*; the Revenues of the Crown were much augmented, his Treasury full, his Arsenals well furnish'd; there was a considerable Fleet in the Ports, the Frontier-places were fortify'd, and, in a word, *Sweden* was in a condition to strike her Enemies with Terror, and inspire her Allies with Respect.

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A
CHRONOLOGICAL ABRIDGMENT
OF THE
History of Sweden.

AL L Nations have had Historians that have spoken of the *Antiquity* of their Original with so much *Partiality* and *Exaggeration*, that a considering Person will hardly venture to depend upon the Authority of the Authors of ancient Chronicles, and the Accounts of those remote times. The least Affinity of Names is reckon'd a sufficient Ground by most of those ancient or modern Writers, to chuse at pleasure among the ancient Hero's, and even among the first Inhabitants of the World, such a Founder as they thought fit to name for their Country. Among those Historians that are so fond of *Antiquity* and zealous for the Honour of their Country, those who have publish'd an intire Body of the History of Sweden, have, in my Opinion, out-done all the Writers of other Nations. They scruple not to affirm that Sweden is the *ancientest Monarchy*, not only of the North, but even of all Europe. According to those credulous or too partial Authors, *Magog*, *Noah's Grandson*, came from *Scythia* to *Finland*; from whence, coasting the Gulf of *Bothnia* to *Gothland*, he settled

sett'd his Son Gethar or Gog, in that Country, who is said to have been the first Prince of the Goths; and the Stock of the Royal Line. I will not undertake, in this place, to decide that famous Question, whether Sweden be the original Habitation, or only a Colony of the ancient Goths. Both these Opinions are asserted by several Authors. But I am fully satisfy'd, that 'twou'd be a very difficult Task to give a clear and distinct Account of the first Inhabitants of Sweden, from whence they came, and when they sett'd in that Country. Nor wou'd it be less difficult to prove, what those ancient Chroniclers seem to suppose, that Sweden had Kings almost as soon as Inhabitants; for 'tis probable, that the Heads of Families were the first Princes of the Earth, and that Men did not voluntarily submit to a Monarchical Government, till they were convinc'd, by a long Experience, of the Inconveniences of a tumultuous Liberty.

But, supposing some ancient Manuscript had faithfully preserv'd the Names of the several Lords that have Rul'd in Sweden, Who can tell whether they were Kings, or only Princes of some particular Country, or perhaps Judges and Captains in their respective Jurisdictions? And 'tis even not improbable that those Heads, whose Names are preserv'd, were Cotemporary, and at the same time Governors of several Provinces; and that the reason why Historians rank'd 'em successively in their Writings, was, that they might have a longer series of Kings, to fill up their Chronology. In the mean time 'tis certain, that there is no fixt Era to be found in the History of Sweden, till about the middle of the Twelfth Age; before which time the Relations of that Country are full of Darkness and Confusion, History intermixt with Fables, and embellish'd with fictitious Wonders, extracted from old Legends, or ancient Songs in heroick Verse, which were the only Annals of those Times.

In those remote Ages, all the Princes and Hero's are either Giants or famous Magicians, who signalize their Strength and pretended Power by robbing one another, and
by

by committing barbarous and unheard of Cruelties against their Enemies. Justice and Honesty were unknown in those Ages, and even had not so much as a Name among these barbarous Nations. All Controversies were decided by force, the most violent Men were most respected, and 'twas reckon'd a dishonor for a Prince not to ravish a Princess, before he married her. A wild Beast kill'd in the sight of the People, or an Enemy surpriz'd and assassinated in his House, was enough to make the bold Murderer a Hero while he liv'd, and sometimes a God after his death.

I shall however give the Reader a Catalogue of those ancient Kings, as I have collected 'em from Swedish Authors, beginning with Eric I. who reign'd (as they relate) 2000 Years before our Saviour's Birth. The Chronology you will find in the Margin, according to the computation of those Writers; but I shall assert nothing till I come down to nearer Ages, where the Truth begins to appear with more certainty and clearness.

THE
Fabulous History
OF
SWEDEN.

Years
of the
World.

Eric I.

1849.

THIS Prince's Birth is altogether unknown to us, nor are we better inform'd of the means he us'd to become Master of his Country, or of what pass'd under his Government. Some Authors relate, that he sent considerable Colonies into the Islands of the *Cimbric Chersonese*, which at present are part of the Kingdom of *Denmark*; but the *Danish* Historians will not acknowledge the Truth of a Story that seems to have been invented by some *Swedish* Writer, to raise his Nation to the Honour of Antiquity, and at the same time to a kind of Superiority over the neighbouring Nations.

**Udö, Alo, Othen, Charles I.
Björn, Gethar, Gylto.**

2020.

We have no account of the Reigns of these Princes, and the very Fable is here at a stand; only their

their Names are preserv'd. By some Authors they are call'd Judges: Nor is it known whether they govern'd at the same time, or successively in several Provinces of the Kingdom.

An Interval of 400 Years, during which the Fabulous History is altogether silent.

Othin.

A famous Magician, commanded the Winds as he pleas'd, assum'd the form of any wild Beast, and had Intelligence of what pass'd in the remotest Places, by the means of two Domestick Demons. The Report of his wonderful Skil kept his Enemies in awe, and inspir'd his Subjects with so profound a veneration and respect for him, that after his Decease they enroll'd him among the Gods. The Stories of Magicians and Witches found an easy admittance into the belief and admiration of those credulous and ignorant Ages.

2600.

Humblus.

If we may rely upon the Testimony of the Swedish Historians, this Prince settl'd his eldest Son *Dan* in the *Cimbric Chersonesse*, who left his Name to the Country. *Norus*, his second Son, went by his Orders into the most Northern Provinces, where he founded the Kingdom of *Norway*. One may easily perceive, that the Affinity of the Names *Dan* with *Danemark*, and *Norus* with *Norway*, has given birth to this Story.

2637.

Sigtrug.

History is altogether silent concerning the Fortune and Adventures of the Posterity of *Humblus*:

2712.

Only 'tis observ'd by the *Swedish* Authors, that *Sig-trug* Usurp'd the supream Power. 'Tis plain, that at that time there was no settl'd Form of Government in *Sweden*; and 'tis probable the Crown was only Hereditary, when the Sons of the deceast King were strong enough to maintain themselves in that station; nor were they advanc'd to it, before they had signaliz'd themselves by some bold and extraordinary exploit.

Suibdager,

2821. King of *Norway*, Conquer'd *Denmark* from *Gram* King of *Cepers*. The *Swedes* charm'd with his Valour, or aw'd by his Power, chose him for their Sovereign; by which Election he saw himself at the same time absolute Lord of the three Northern Kingdoms. This Prince, according to the *Swedish* History, is the first Foreigner upon whom the Crown was conferr'd.

Hafinund,

2891. Son and Successor of *Suibdager*, was slain in a Battle against the *Danes*.

Uffo,

2939. Son and Successor, of *Hafinund*, carry'd on a War against the *Danes* with success; but at last *Hading*, King of *Denmark*, under colour of an Interview for a Treaty of Peace, drew him into a place, where he caus'd him to be Assassinated.

Hunning,

Huning,

Uffo's Brother and Successor, after a Bloody War 2983. which he undertook against the King of *Denmark* to revenge the Death of his Brother, chang'd of a sudden his violent hatred against his Enemy into an excess of Friendship. A Solemn Peace was concluded betwixt these two Princes, with a Solemn Oath on both sides, that upon the Death of either, the other shou'd not survive him. It happen'd not long after, that *Hading* was falsly reported to have been Assassinated by his own Daughter ; which *Huning* believing, resolv'd to die according to his promise. In pursuance of this design, he regal'd his Friends and the chief Persons of the Kingdom with a sumptuous Entertainment, and at the conclusion of the Feast, being Drunk, he threw himself into a deep Tub full of Mead, and so drown'd himself. *Hading* was vext at the News, but resolving to imitate the Generosity of his Friend, he very courageously Hang'd himself in the sight of all his People ; if there be any credit to be given to those ancient Histories, or rather to the Histories of those Ancient Ages.

Regner,

The Son and Successor of *Huning*, was made 3031. King of *Sweden*, notwithstanding all the opposition of his Mother-in-Law *Torilla*. He Govern'd his Subjects with much Equity and Moderation. But these peaceful Virtues were so far from procuring him the Love and Esteem of a Cruel and Barbarous People, that he was slighted and contemn'd, because he won'd not gratify their savage Humour by Plundering the Neighbouring Countries, and perhaps also because he was too gene-

rous to cause his private Enemies to be Assassinated.

Hothebrod,

3060. The Son and Successor of *Regner*, was a warlike and daring Prince, and undertook several fortunate Expeditions against the *Finlanders*, *Russes*, *Esthonians* and *Curlandians*: After which he Attack'd *Roe* King of *Denmark*, whom he kill'd at the Head of his Army. He pursu'd this Victory with so much vigor, that he made himself Master of the whole Kingdom: But he did not long enjoy his Conquest; for the *Danes* revolting at the instigation of *Helgo* *Roe's* Brother, *Hothebrod* was routed and kill'd, and by this means the *Svedes* were expell'd out of *Denmark*. These pretended Conquests of Kingdoms were only Inrodes made by the victorious party into the Enemies Country. For since there were no places of strength where Garrisons cou'd be left to secure the Conquest, as soon as the Victorious Army retir'd with their Booty, the Conquer'd Nation took up Arms and chose a new King or Captain, to Command 'em.

Attila I.

3125. Succeeded his Father *Hothebrod*, and Marri'd the Mother of *Rool* King of *Denmark*. But that Match instead of producing a lasting Peace between the two Kingdoms, and a good Understanding betwixt the Kings, serv'd only to re-ignite the War with greater fury than ever. The Queen of *Sweden* having seiz'd upon the Treasury of the King her Husband, fled to her Son in *Denmark*. • *Attila* incens'd at her perfidiousness, invaded *Denmark* with his Forces, and routed the *Danes*. *Rool* was defeated and kill'd by

by one of the Swedish Generals, and *Hother*, *Attila's* Brother was made King of *Denmark*.

Hother,

King of *Sweden* and *Denmark*, routed the *Danes*, 3174.
who revolted at the instigation of *Balder*, a Prince
of that Nation; after which he march'd against the
Russes, but lost his Life in that Expedition.

Rodric.

This Victorious Prince, reveng'd his Father's 3252.
Death by the defeat of the *Russes*, and subdu'd the
Finlanders, *Wendi*, and *Slavonians*.

Attila II,

The Son and Successor of *Rotherick*; he fought 3336.
a single Combat at the Head of his Army with *Fro-*
via General of the *Danish* Forces, and kill'd him.
Frovia left two Sons, who as soon as they were
grown up to Age went to *Sweden*, and offer'd their
service to *Attila*, pretending to be Soldiers of For-
tune. They were receiv'd into the King's House
whom they afterwards Assassinated to revenge the
Death of their Father.

**Botwil, Charles II, Grimmer,
Tordon, Gothar, Adolphus,
Algot, Eric II. Lindorp.**

The Fabulous Chronology mentions only the 3351.
names of those Nine Princes, without relating
their Adventures or so much as the length of their
Reigns.

Alaric.

3916. Under this Prince's Reign the *Swedish* Monarchy was divided into two Kingdoms, *Alaric* reigning in *Sweden*, and *Gestibind* in both the *Gothlands*. This Division and the Neighbourhood of two Barbarous Nations, occasion'd Bloody Wars betwixt 'em. *Alaric*, according to the custom of those Times, challeng'd *Gestibind* to a single Combat; who declin'd it by reason of his Age, but offer'd in his stead *Eric* Prince of *Norway*, who was come to his Assistance. These two Champions fought with all the Fury and Obstinacy that Men are capable of, when they resolve either to vanquish or die. *Alaric* was slain; and *Gestibind*, to reward *Eric*'s Valour, not only gave him the Crown of *Sweden*, but appointed him his Successor in the Kingdom of *Gothland*; by which means these two Crowns were not long after reunited upon the Head of that Prince.

Eric III. surnam'd the *Wise*.

3931. This Prince liv'd in a profound Peace, and apply'd himself wholly to the Administration of Justice, and Execution of the Laws. This got him the surname of *Wise*, which he preferr'd to that of *Brave* and *Courageous*, tho' he really deserv'd it by the Valour he shew'd in the Combat he fought with King *Alaric*.

Halden I.

- A. C. The Son and Successor of *Eric the Wise*; he signaliz'd himself in the Wars of *Norway*, and restor'd
43. *Fricdelef* King of *Denmark* to his Fathers Throne, from which he had been expell'd by an Usurper. Returning to *Sweden* at the Head of a Victorious Army,

Army, he resolv'd to make his Will the only Standard and Rule of his Government. Upon which his Subjects revolted, his Officers and Soldiers forsook him, and he was at last put to Death by the Malecontents.

Siward,

Haldan's Son was own'd for his Successor, upon condition that none shou'd be molested about the Death of his Father. Under this Prince's reign the *Goths* were again separated from the *Swedish* Monarchy, and chose for their King a Prince call'd *Charles* of the Family of their Ancient Kings; who to establish his Authority, made a League with *Harald* King of *Denmark*, and gave him his Daughter in Marriage. *Siward*, to prevent the ill consequences of the Confederacy gave his Daughter *Ulvilda* to *Frotho* the King of *Denmark's* Brother; who by reason of his Valour was more respected among the *Danes*, than the King his Brother. These cross Matches kindl'd a civil War in *Denmark*, and *Frotho* was supported by those who admir'd and endeavour'd to imitate his Bravery. He fought with the King his Brother, routed his Army, and slew him with his own hand in the heat of the Fight. King *Harald* left two Sons, *Haldan* and *Harald*, who, to revenge their Father's Death, surpriz'd *Frotho* in his House, Burnt him alive, and Ston'd Queen *Ulvilda*. This furious piece of Revenge, which was esteem'd by those Barbarous People as a most brave and generous Act, made all the *Danes* unanimously resolve to follow the young Princes. They March'd into *Sweden*, gave Battle to King *Siward*, cut his Army in pieces, and slew him in the fight.

100.

Eric

Eric IV.

169. The two victorious Brothers divided their Conquests; *Denmark* falling to *Harald's* lot, and *Sweden* to *Haldan's*. But the *Swed*es set up *Eric*, *Siw*ard's Grand-child against *Haldan*; which occasion'd a new civil War. *Eric* was victorious for several times on Land. But *Harald*, coming with a great Fleet to his Brother's Assistance, routed *Eric's* Navy, who rather than yield up himself to his Enemies Mercy threw himself into the Sea.

Haldan II,

187. Succeeded *Eric*, according to the custom of those Times, when the Crown and Dominions of the Vanquish'd Prince were always the Conquerour's Reward. This Prince slew with his own hand two monstrous Giants, and fought afterwards alone against *Siw*ard and his seven Sons, whom he kill'd in a single Combat: Such great Exploits procur'd him the admiration of the *Swed*es, who celebrated his praise in their Heroick Songs, and after his Decease rank'd him among their greatest Heroes.

Unguin.

194. This Prince, who was already King of the *Goths*, was appointed by *Haldan* for his Successor to the Crown of *Sweden*. But the *Swed*es resolving to maintain their Priviledge of chusing their own Master, Elected *Ragnald*. One Battle decided the Difference, in which *Unguin* was slain by *Ragnald*.

Ragnald.

Raguald.

This Prince, not contented with the Death and 203.
Defeat of King *Unguin*, pursu'd *Signal* his Son to
Denmark, whither he had retir'd, who, being assist-
ed by the *Danes*, gave him Battle in *Seland*, and
kill'd him with his own Hand at the Head of both
Armies.

Amund.

He succeeded his Father *Raguald*, and contented 220.
himself with the Possession of the Crown without
undertaking any Considerable Attempt. He had
four Sons who resided in the Court of *Denmark*,
where they occasion'd great disorders. If we may
believe the Chronicles, 'twas the usual custom of
Young Princes in those Times to Travel thro' the
Neighboring Countries in quest of hazardous Ad-
ventures to signalize their Courage and Valour.
To kill a *Giant* in single Combat, or a *Wild Beast*
in the presence of a King; to carry away a *Young*
Princess, and to Debauch or Ravish a *Queen*, were
reckon'd among their Noblest Exploits, and worthy
of Immortal Honor. And the bold *Hero* at his re-
turn to his Countrey was always preferr'd before the
rest of his Brothers when the Throne became vacant
by his Father's Death.

Haquin.

This Prince during the life of his Father *Amund*, 226.
invaded *Denmark*, routed King *Sigar* in a pitch'd
Battle, and put the whole Country under Milita-
ry Execution, to revenge the Death of his Bro-
thers, who were kill'd by the King of *Denmark*'s or-
der. He was advanc'd to the Throne after his Fa-
ther's

ther's Death, and had the good fortune to die in peace; nor was the tranquillity of his Reign disturb'd by any Civil or Foreign War.

Osten.

230. He was the Son of *Gether* King of *Norway*, and obtain'd the Crown of *Sweden* by Election. To revenge his Father's Death, who was Assassinated by the *Normegians* for his cruelty; he enter'd that Kingdom at the head of his *Army*, and having destroy'd the whole Country with Fire and Sword, without sparing either Age or Sex, he appointed his *Dog* to reign over 'em, as reckoning 'em unworthy to obey a *Man*. Perhaps this Story is a meer Fable occasion'd by a punning Allusion to the Name of the Person whom he intrusted with the Government during his absence; tho', if we consider the wild and barbarous Genius of that Age, it, may not improbably be suppos'd that he gave the Title of *Viceroy* to a real *Dog*: Nor will that Act of Revenge seem more surprizingly extravagant, than the fantastical Humor of a certain *Roman* Emperor, who made his *Horse* a *Consul*.

Caligula.

Alver.

235. This Prince being one of the most considerable Persons of the *Swedish* Nation was chosen King after the Death of *Osten*. He defeated the *Russians*, and made 'em tributary to the Crown of *Sweden*. He died in Peace after a short Reign.

Jugo.

Ingo.

He was chosen King after the Death of his Father *Alver*, and fix'd his residence at *Upsal*, which he made the Capital City of the Kingdom. His Successors oftentimes assum'd the Title of Kings of *Upsal*, to distinguish themselves from other *Petty Sovereigns*, who founded little *Monarchies* in several Provinces of the Kingdom. 240.

Fiolmus.

History has only preserv'd the *Name* of this Prince, without acquainting us with his Actions or with the length of his Reign: Nor are the succeeding Princes for a Hundred Years so much as mention'd in the *Swedish* Chronicles. 262.

Ingell.

He was so incens'd at his Brother *Olaus* for admonishing him of his Wife's Infidelity, that he became his declar'd Enemy. But the Quarrel was soon decided by the Death of *Ingell*, who was kill'd by *Olaus*. 378.

Germunder,

The Son and Successor of *Ingell*. He declar'd War against *Harald* King of *Denmark*, his Brother-in-Law, who finding himself unable to sustain the Shock of so potent an Enemy, begg'd a Peace, and having obtain'd it, desir'd *Germunder* to make a visit to the Queen his Sister. Immediately that unfortunate Prince Disbanded his Army, and went to the Court of *Denmark*, where he was apprehended and afterwards hang'd by the Command of the Treach- 382.

Treacherous *Harald*, in the sight of all his Vassals whom he invited to be Witnesses of that dismal Spectacle.

'Twas not the custom in those days to exchange Hostages; the Kings kept no Guards, nor did their Household consist of a numerous Train of Officers. During the War they were serv'd by the principal Persons of the Nation; but as soon as a Peace was concluded, every man retir'd to his own House, and left the Prince alone with his Family and Domestick Servants.

Haquin Kingo.

387. No sooner was the Young Prince able to bear Arms, but he resolv'd to revenge his Father's Death upon his Faithless Murderer. In order to the effectual Execution of that design he us'd more than ordinary diligence in levying Forces, and entertain'd all the stragling Adventurers that wou'd enter into his Service. The Neighboring Nations engag'd in the Quarrel according to their various Interests, or the Designs and Inclinations of their Sovereigns: The *English*, *Irish*, and *Saxons* declar'd for the King of *Denmark*, and *Haquin* was Assisted by the *Norwegians*, *Curlandians* and *Estonians*. The two contending Princes Arm'd all their Subjects, and even the *Women* were inspir'd with a generous Ambition to obtain a share both in the Hazard and Glory of so important an Action. *Hesha* Commanded a company of *Women* in the *Swedish* Army, and *Visna* march'd under the *Danish* Standards. At last the two Armies came to a decisive Battle, in which *Harald* was kill'd, and the victorious *Haquin* having made himself Master of *Denmark* entrusted *Hesha* with the Government of that Conquer'd Kingdom. Historians observe that the King of *Sweden* ow'd his Victory to the Valour of the *Dalecarlians* who inhabit

habit one of the Northern Provinces of that Country.

Egil.

The Son and Successor of *Haquin*. He impos'd a 399.
Tribute upon *Amund* King of *Denmark*, subdu'd a
seditious party that rebell'd against him, and after
all was unfortunately kill'd by a Wild Ox at Hunt-
ing.

Gother.

He seiz'd and carry'd away the Daughter of 405.
Amund King of *Denmark*, and conquer'd *Schonen* and
Haland which belong'd to the *Danes*. At last he
was kill'd by his own Subjects who revolted against
him for establishing some new Laws that seem'd to
encroach on the Priviledges and Liberty of the Na-
tion.

Adelus.

Gother was succeeded by his Son *Adelus*, whose 433.
reign is remarkable for his successful Expedition a-
gainst the *Danes* to revenge the Death of his Sister
who lost her life by the ill-grounded jealousy of her
Husband, *Jammeric* King of *Denmark*. The King
of *Sweden* invaded *Denmark* and besieg'd that cruel
Prince who was no less odious to his own Subjects
than to his Enemies. *Jammeric* was taken after a
Siege that lasted some Months, and his Legs and
Arms were cut off by the Victorious *Swedes*, who
pillag'd his Treasures, and reunited the Provinces
of *Schonen*, *Haland* and *Bleking* to *Gothland*, from
which they were formerly dismember'd.

Oftan.

Oftan.

437. This Prince lost both his Crown and his Life by endeavouring to impose a Tax upon his Subjects: for that fierce People, who were extremely jealous of their Liberty, were so incens'd against a Prince, whom they look'd upon as an Oppressor, that having surpriz'd him in his House, they Burnt him and his whole Family.

'Tis plain from this instance, and from the History of the preceeding Kings, that the fate of those Princes seem'd to be in the Power, and to depend upon the Humor of their Subjects.

Ingomar.

453. Historians relate that *Gothland* was at that time subject to a distinct King, who had a Daughter of admirable Beauty, which is the usual Character of all the Princesses that are mention'd in those Ancient Histories. *Snio* King of *Denmark* and *Ingomar* King of *Sweden* were both Captivated by the Charms of that young Beauty; and tho' the former was more agreeable to the Daughter, the latter was prefer'd by the Father who made the King of *Sweden* happy in the Possession of his Mistress with the Reversion of a Crown for her Dowry. The King of *Denmark* cou'd not patiently bear the loss of so considerable a Prize: He enter'd *Sweden* at the Head of an Army, and having vanquish'd his Rival, he seiz'd on the fair Queen, who without reluctance follow'd the Conqueror of her Husband. But *Ingomar* was rather irritated than discourag'd by his misfortune: He made new Levies, invaded *Denmark*, routed and kill'd *Snio*, and was so far from scrupling to receive his Beautiful Wife, that the difficulty of the Conquest serv'd only to lighten the pleasure of the

the *Victory*. At last he was kill'd in a War which he undertook against the *Russes*.

Halstan I. Raguard, Wartman,
Lordon, Rodolph, Gostag, Ar-
thur, Haquin, Charles I V.
Charles V. Birger, Eric V.
Torril, Biozn II. Alaric II.

Here there is a long Interruption in the *Swedish* 460.
History; for tho' the Names of the Princes who Govern'd that Kingdom from the Year 460 to the beginning of the *Ninth* Age are preserv'd, the Memory of their Actions is entirely lost, neither do we find in the Chronicles so much as an account of their Families.

Biozn III.

The reign of this Prince may be reckon'd a consi- 816.
derable *Ara* in the History of *Sweden*: For the Emperor *Lewis the Gentle* sent *Angsarus* Bishop of *Breme*, who preach'd the *Christian* Doctrin in that Kingdom, and converted several Petty Kings. But notwithstanding all the labours of that Prelate, *Idol- atry* prevail'd in the Kingdom till the end of the Tenth Age, when the People began to erect Churches to the Honor of the true *G O D*, under the Reign of King *Olaus the Tributary*, who openly profess the *Christian* Religion.

Brant-amund.

This Prince perceiving that the People were ve- 824.
ry numerous, Disforested the Woody and Untill'd
K Grounds

Grounds and bestow'd 'em on his Subjects, who by way of acknowledgment were oblig'd either to pay a certain Tribute, or to Assist the King on Horse-back in time of War. From hence we may reckon the Original of the *Fiefs* of this Kingdom, which at first held immediately of the Crown, but were afterwards usurp'd by the Clergy and Nobility. King *Braut-amund* did not long enjoy the Advantage of this new settlement; for his Brother *Sivard* rebell'd against him, and kill'd him at the head of his Army, in the third Year of his Reign.

Sivard II.

827. The *Swedens* immediately plac'd the Crown on the head of the Victorious Rebel, while he was yet stain'd with the Blood of his Brother and Sovereign: For in those Days *Force* was the supreme Law, and a fortunate Malefactor was prais'd and rewarded for a Crime that wou'd have been severely punish'd if it had not been attended with success. *Sivard* seeing himself fixt on the Throne Invaded the *Norwegians*, whom he surpriz'd before they cou'd put themselves in a posture of defence: He pillag'd the whole Countrey, ravish'd the most Beautiful Women, and after he had satiated his own Lust, left 'em to be abus'd by the chief Captains of his Army. But these Barbarities were in some measure expiated by the speedy Vengeance that overtook the impious Tyrant: The *Norwegians*, animated with Despair and Fury, made head against their Oppressor, the very Women ran to Arms, and *Sivard* himself fell by the hand of one of those *Heroins* whom he had abus'd, as a Sacrifice to her injur'd Vertue, and to the Honor of the Nation.

Herot.

This Prince had a Daughter who was reputed a compleat Beauty: *Regner* King of *Denmark* demanded her for his Wife; but the King of *Sweden*, according to the usual custom of those Times wou'd not bestow the Princess upon him till he had signaliz'd his Courage by fighting against two *Bears* of a prodigious bigness, who infested the Country about *Upsal*. *Regner* accepted the condition, slew the two *Bears*, and receiv'd the dear Recompence of his Valour. Some Authors relate that these pretended *Bears* were two *Robbers* who made a terrible havock in the Country, and for that Reason were call'd *Wild Beasts* by the People. S34.

Charles VI.

He was Elected by the unanimous consent of the *Swedes*, *Herot's* Children being excluded from the Succession. One of the Sons of the Decea'd King was incited by his Brother-in-Law, *Regner* King of *Denmark*, to oppose the pretended injustice of that Election. Great preparations were made on both sides, and at last they came to a decisive Battle, which put an end to the dispute by the Death of both the Competitors. But tho' neither of the two contending Parties cou'd boast of their success; *Regner* look'd upon the defeat of both as an important Victory, and during the general disorder made his Son *Biorn*, King of *Sweden*. S35.

Biorn IV.

Biorn was the Son of *Regner* King of *Denmark*, and Grandson of *Herot* King of *Sweden*. He endeavou'd to make himself the absolute Master of his S36.

Subjects, and treated 'em as conquer'd Slaves. But he was at last convinc'd of the impracticableness of that attempt, and that he had to do with a People who lov'd their Liberty too well to suffer a stranger to deprive 'em of it; for they took up Arms against their Oppressor, and forc'd him to retire to *Norway*.

Ingiald.

940.

After the flight of *Biorn, Ingiald*, the Grandson of *Braut-amund*, was advanc'd to the Throne at the desire of the whole Nation. 'Tis said that he was nourish'd in his Youth with the Hearts of *Wolves*, to make him Strong and Fierce, and that his Temper and Actions were suitable to his Food and Education. The Inauguration of the Prince, and the Ceremony of taking Possession of the Crown consisted at that time in a splendid Feast, to which all the principal Persons of the Kingdom were invited by their new Sovereign. As soon as the Entertainment was over, a large Vessel call'd *Bragagebar* was fill'd with Wine, which the Prince was oblig'd to Drink up before he mounted the Throne. Then he Swore solemnly to extend the Limits of the Kingdom, and to make his Enemies feel the weight of his Sword. *Ingiald* took this Oath at his Accession to the Crown, which was accompany'd with all the usual Ceremonies. Most of the Provinces in the Kingdom were at that time subject to distinct Kings, who only pay'd Homage to the King of *Upsal* when they were over-aw'd by his Power. *Ingiald*, according to the custom, invited 'em to the Solemnity of his Coronation, and regal'd 'em with a great deal of Magnificence; but the Scene was chang'd at night: For the King of *Upsal* resolving to rid himself of so many petty Sovereigns who seldom own'd his Authority but when they were forc'd

forc'd to obey him, order'd 'em to be burnt in the House whither they retir'd after the Feast, and immediately seiz'd upon their *Estates*, and on the Government of their Provinces. This open violation of the Law of Nations, and of the publick Liberty of *Sweden*, render'd the King so odious to his People, that when his Dominions were invaded by the King of *Denmark*, they refus'd to Assist him. Thus he saw in himself a memorable Instance of the Vanity of a meer titular Sovereignty, and of the weakness of a King that does not reign in the Hearts of his Subjects. The *Danish* Army advanc'd without opposition, and the unfortunate *Ingiald* fearing least he shou'd fall into the Hands of his Enemy, burnt himself in his House with his whole Family.

Olaus Tratelia.

The surname of *Tratelia* was given him, because, in imitation of King *Brant-amund*, he disforested several Lands, which he bestow'd as *Fiefs* upon his Subjects; so that almost all the till'd Ground in the Kingdom was at that time tributary to the Crown. 891.

Ingo II.

The Son and Successor of *Olaus*. He was a Peaceable Prince, and consequently despis'd by his fierce Subjects, who delighted in nothing else but War. 900.

Eric VI.

He ow'd his Advancement to his own subtlety, and to the superstition of the *Swedes* who took him for a profound *Magician*. He perswaded 'em that 907.

the Winds and Tempests were at his disposal, and by that means easily gain'd the Respect and Admiration of a rude and barbarous Nation.

Eric VII. surnam'd the Victorious.

917. This Prince is somewhat better known in History than his Predecessors. He cross'd the *Baltick* Sea with an Army, made a descent into *Livonia*, and made himself Master of that Province. He enlarg'd his Dominions with the Addition of the Provinces of *Schonen* and *Haland* which he conquer'd from the *Danes*, and after a long series of Victories did, belov'd of his Subjects and fear'd by his Neighbors and Enemies.

Eric VIII.

940. He was converted by two Priests, call'd *Adel-mart* and *Steven*, who came from *Hamburg* to Preach the *Christian* Doctrin in *Sweden*; and signaliz'd his Zeal by ordering the Idolatrous Temple at *Upsal* to be demolish'd. But the People looking upon that Action as a Sacrilegious contempt of their Gods, Assassinated the King and the two *German* Missionaries; so that both he and they seem to have a just right to the glorious Title of *Martyrs*.

Olaus the Tributary.

980. He succeeded his Brother *Eric*, and was so far from being discourag'd by that Prince's cruel and untimely Death, that he made open profession of the *Christian* Religion. Some Authors reckon him the first *Christian* King of *Sweden*, because under his Reign there were several Churches built to the Honor of the true God, and the People were generally converted to the *Christian* Faith, by the Ministry

tery of certain *English* Priests, who notwithstanding the seeming Purity of their Zeal, were accus'd of promoting their own Interest, and carrying on their Politick designs under the specious pretext of propagating the Gospel. For 'twas by their advice that *Olaus* made his Kingdom subject to the Holy-See, and oblig'd his Subjects to pay a certain Tribute to the Pope, which was commonly call'd *Peter's Pence*. But his Successors soon grew weary of that Religious Bondage, and abrogated an imposition that was found to be burdensome to the People, and prejudicial to the Crown.

Amund the Burner,

The Son and Successor of *Olaus*. He was surnam'd the *Burner*, because he ordain'd that when any man injur'd his Neighbor, his House shou'd be burnt; from whence it may observ'd that the *Swedes* were still a very rude and barbarous People about the beginning of the eleventh Age. This Prince was kill'd in a Battel against *Cnut the Rich*, King of *Denmark*. 1019.

Einund Slemme.

The difference betwixt the Crowns of *Sweden* and *Denmark* concerning *Schonen* was terminated by a Treaty to the prejudice of the former, which made the King odious to his Subjects. For they cou'd not endure that he shou'd acknowledge that Province to belong to the Crown of *Denmark*, which they had always reckon'd a part of *Gothland*. 'Tis almost impossible to read the History of these Nations without observing the many advantages that a crafty Politician has over a blunt Soldier; for there is hardly one Treaty recorded in their Chronicles, in which a considering Reader may not find several 1035.

remarkable Instances of the subtilty of the *Danish* Ministers in the Management of Negotiations. Their *Wit* did more Execution than the *Swedish* Valour; and with one dash of a *Pen* they cou'd easily heal the Wounds they receiv'd by the *Swords* of their Enemies.

Haquin the Red.

1041. After the Death of *Emund* there was a warm dispute about the Election of a new King. The *Swedes* Voted for *Stenchil* whose Mother was *Olaus* the *Tributarie's* Daughter: And the People of *Certhland* declar'd unanimously for their Country-man *Haquin*, who was the Son of a Peasant, but celebrated for his Valor and Courage. However the two Competitors submitted to a friendly Agreement, tho' in those Times such controversies were wont to be decided in a single Combat. *Haquin* who was already very Ancient Reign'd First, and left the Crown to *Stenchil*, who was appointed to Succeed him.

Stenchil II.

1059. He made it his principal care to execute the Laws and defend the Establish'd Religion; but the Kingdom did not long enjoy the blessing of so Wise and Pious a Prince. He left two Sons, who contended so eagerly about the Succession, that they took up Arms, and were both kill'd in the Dispute.

Ingo III.

1061. The whole Nation approv'd the Election of a Prince, who was worthy of their Esteem and Affection; for he was not inferior to his Predecessor either in Piety or Justice. He made an express Law to abolish Idolatrous Sacrifices, and endeavor'd to curb

curb and subdue several petty Tyrants that oppress the People, but he perish'd in the Attempt; for he was surpriz'd in his House, and Barbarously Murder'd by the disaffected Party.

Halstan,

Succeeded his Brother *Ingo*. He was Naturally of a mild and gentle Temper; he took pleasure in doing good, and even had the prudence and good Fortune to make the *Swedes* love and admire these peaceful Vertues. 1064.

Philip,

Succeeded his Father *Halstan* both in his Dignity and Vertues. Here the Chronicles begin to take notice of the Illustrious Family of the *Folquingians*, who were intrusted with a very considerable share in the Government by several succeeding Princes. 1080.

Ingo IV,

Succeeded his Father *Philip*, and imitated his Predecessors in his zeal for the Advancement of Religion, and in the care he took to Administer Justice and put the Laws in execution against obstinate Offenders. He was poison'd by some *Ostrogoth* Lords who dreaded his Power and Justice. 1110.

Under the five last Reigns, *Sweden* enjoy'd a profound and uninterrupted Peace. This may be justly reckon'd the *Golden Age* of that Monarchy, during which the publick Tranquillity was neither disturb'd by *Civil* nor *Foreign* Wars. And it ought to be observ'd that the People ow'd their Happiness to the Wisdom and Moderation of those Princes, who were equally careful to abstain from invading the Do-

Dominions of their Neighbors and from incroaching upon the Liberty and Privileges of their Subjects.

Ragnald.

1129. The *Swedes* were of too fierce and active a Temper to relish the soft delights of Peace. They resolv'd to supply the vacancy of the Throne by advancing a Prince that wou'd furnish 'em with an Employment more suitable to their Genius; and in pursuance of that resolution made choice of *Ragnald*, meerly on the score of his Strength and of the largeness of his Stature. But they were soon convinc'd of their imprudence in lodging the Sovereign Authority in the hands of a cruel and violent Prince, who hated and contemn'd the Laws and Privileges of his Country, and made it his only care to extend the Prerogative of the Crown, and to establish an *Arbitrary* and *Despotic Power*, in a Country where the *Kings* were almost only consider'd as the *Captains* or *Generals* of the People. They lov'd a *Warlike* Prince, but cou'd not endure a *Tyrant*; and since he treated 'em as *Slaves* they resolv'd to treat him as an *Enemy*. According to the custom of those Times when the King enter'd into any Province, he receiv'd Hostages from the Inhabitants for the security of his Person, and was oblig'd to give Hostages for the security of their Privileges. But the fierce and haughty *Ragnald* scorn'ing to imitate his Predecessors, enter'd *West-Gothland* in Arms; and the People resolving to maintain so important a Ceremony, assaulted that imperious Prince, and kill'd him in his Passage thro' their Territories.

Suercher II.

Ragnald had mortify'd the *Svedes* so effectually, and they were so sensible of their imprudence in advancing a Prince of his Temper to the Throne, that they resolv'd to proceed with more caution in the choice of a Successor. *Suercher* was Elected by the unanimous consent of the whole Nation, and was both an exact Administrator of Justice, and a Zealous promoter of Religion. But the Quiet and Happiness of his Reign was disturb'd by the Extravagancies of his lewd and unruly Son, who was a profest Enemy both to the Religion and Laws of his Country. He made an Irruption into *Haland* at the head of a Company of Robbers and other Licentious Villains, the wicked Instruments of his Criminal passions, and seizing on the Wife and Sister of the Governor of that Province, abus'd 'em in a most Barbarous manner, and afterwards expos'd 'em to the brutish Lust of his Followers. The *Danes* took up Arms to pursue the Ravisher; the *Svedes* wou'd not Assist a Prince whom they look'd upon as the scandal of their Nation; and *Suercher* soon after receiv'd the Melancholy News of the Death of his unhappy Son, who was Attack'd and kill'd by the *Danes*, with his infamous Retinue. Nor was this the only disaster that besel the unfortunate *Suercher*; for he was Assassinated in his Sled by a company of disaffected Persons as he was going to Church with his Family and Servants. The Illustrious Family of the Counts of *Brabe* reckon their descent from this Prince.

The succeeding History and Chronology of the Swedish Monarchy is more certain and exact.

ERIC IX.

1150. After the Death of *Suercher*, the Voices were so equally divided at the Election, and each of the opposite Parties maintain'd their choice with so much heat and obstinacy, that *Sweden* was again separated into two distinct Kingdoms. The inhabitants of both the *Gotblands* voted for *Charles* the Son of *Suercher*; but the rest of the *Swedes* declar'd for *Eris*, whose Posterity enjoy'd the Sovereign Authority for the space of 200 Years. His Valor recommended him to their choice, and his Piety procur'd him the Title of a *Saint* after his Death. He enter'd *Finland* at the head of an Army; but that Expedition was not so much an effect of his Ambition or Desire of Glory, as of his zeal for propagating the Christian Religion. Nor did he content himself with opening a way to the *Missionaries* who were sent thither to preach the Gospel, but became an *Apostle* himself, and endeavour'd with all possible Ardor and Application to compleat the conversion of that People. He collected the Ancient Laws of the Kingdom into one Body, and added new Edicts or Statutes that were of excellent importance for the advantage and security of the publick: But these peaceful virtues were so far from gaining the hearts of a people that were accusom'd to live by Robbing and Plundering each other, that they were extremely incens'd against their Religious Prince for attempting to establish and execute the Laws of Justice and Equity at a time and in a Country, in which *Force* and *Power* were reckon'd sufficient Arguments

Euments to excuse, and even to justify *Injury* and *Oppression*. The devout King *Eric* was Barbarously Assassinated by his seditious Subjects; and the King of *Gothland* was suspected of encouraging, and corresponding with the Rebels.

Charles VII.

The *Swedes* advanc'd this Prince to the Throne, 1162. that the two *Gothlands* might be reunited to the Crown. He took all possible care to keep his Subjects from suspecting that he had a Hand in the death of his Predecessor. In pursuance of that design, he began the Exercise of his Regal Authority by ordaining that all the Laws of *St. Eric* shou'd be punctually observ'd: He recall'd *Canut*, that Prince's Son, who after his Fathers Death had made his escape into *Norway*: And to remove all the pretexs that might be us'd for embroiling the Kingdom in a civil War, he made a Law that *Canut* shou'd inherit the Crown after his Death, and that for ever afterwards the King shou'd be chosen by turns out of the two Royal Families. Afterwards he erected several *Monasteries* to gain the Esteem and Affection of the People, who are always extreamly fond of such external Marks of Piety and Devotion.

He sent an Embassy to *Rome* to obtain from Pope *Alexander III.* the Title of *Arch-Bishop*, and the *Pallium* for the Bishop of *Upsal*, who was Primate of the Kingdom. The Pope was easily prevail'd with to grant, or rather to *sell* him the favour he desir'd, according to the usual Maxims of the Court of *Rome*; and that Prelate was invested with the *Archiepiscopal* Dignity, on condition that the Estates of all those who died without Children in the Kingdom shou'd be intail'd upon the Holy-Sec; but the *Swedes* soon grew weary of that Religious Bondage, and freed themselves from so burdensom a Tribute.

Canut.

Canut.

1168. Tho' King *Charles* had made a solemn Law to settle the Succession upon this Prince, his Ambition cou'd not be satisfied with the prospect of a Crown in reversion. He levy'd Forces in *Norway*, and resolving at once to recover the Throne, and revenge the Death of his Father, he invaded *Sweden*, routed King *Charles*, kill'd him in the Battle, and by that Victory made himself Master of the Kingdom. He left no means unattempted to extirpate the whole Race of his Predecessor; but since 'twas never in the power of a Tyrant to secure his Usurpation by the Death of his Successor, all the cruel Diligence with which he persecuted the Family of the late King, cou'd not hinder the *Swedes* from Electing *Suercher* the Son of that Prince, according to the Law by which 'twas ordain'd that the two Families shou'd enjoy the Crown by turns.

Suercher III.

1192. This Prince imitating the Barbarous policy of his Predecessor, order'd an exact search to be made for all the Relations and Posterity of *St. Eric*. But one of those Princes escap'd his fury, and rais'd an Army to make head against his Persecutor.

Eric X.

1211. He defeated King *Suercher* in a Battle, and after that Prince's Death obtain'd the Crown, which at that time was always the Reward of the Conqueror. As soon as he was fix'd upon the Throne he endeavour'd to make a friendly Agreement with the Family of his Predecessor; in order to which he offer'd to re-establish the Law that was made by King

Charles

Charles for regulating the Succession; and to convince the posterity of that Prince that he really design'd to put the Treaty in Execution, he appointed *John* the Son of *Suercher* to succeed him, excluding his own Son Prince *Eric*, who was oblig'd to content himself with a distant prospect of inheriting the Crown after the Death of Prince *John*.

John I.

He conquer'd some places in *Livonia*, and endeavour'd by Force of Arms to make the *Esthonians* renounce the Idolatry that prevail'd among 'em: But the People of that Country looking upon their forc'd Conversion as a sort of *Slavery*, took up Arms and drove the *Swedes* out of their Province. In the mean time King *John* Died in the Isle of *Wienfingso*, after he had reign'd three years.

1220.

Eric XI. call'd the *Stammerer*.

He was the Son of *Eric X*, and obtain'd the Possession of the Crown without the least Effusion of Blood: It may be reckon'd a very rare Instance of moderation that a Royal Family should so tamely divest themselves of the Sovereign Authority, and suffer a Prince of another House to mount the Throne without Opposition. This Monarch had occasion during his Reign to perform a very important piece of service to the *Regency* of *Lubeck*. The *Danes* Besieg'd that City with a numerous Army, and shut up the Port with an Iron Chain, which was defended by a potent Fleet. But when the City was reduc'd to the utmost extremity, the King of *Sweden* sent a considerable number of Ships mann'd with Soldiers, under the Convoy of several Men of War, who beat the *Danes*, open'd a passage thro' their Squadrons, broke the Chain, with which the Mouth

1223.

of

of the River *Trave* was block'd up, reliev'd the City with Men, Provisions and Ammunition, and by that seasonable and important supply deliver'd the Republick from the *Danish* Yoak. The Regency, as a Testimony of the publick gratitude for so signal a Deliverance, ordain'd that the *Swedish* Merchant Ships shou'd from that time be exempted from the payment of Customs and Duties.

Waldemar.

1251. The Family of King *Suercher* shou'd have had their turn in the Election, by vertue of the Treaty concluded with the House of *Eric*: But it seems the *Swedes* had either forgotten or neglected that Agreement; for tho' *Eric* the *Stammerer* left no Issue, they Elected *Waldemar* the Son of that Prince's Sister, and of *Jerl* or Count *Birger*, who was General of the *Swedish* Forces during the preceeding Reign. It may perhaps appear strange that the Son, tho' an Infant, was preferr'd before his *Father*; but 'tis plain from the *Swedish* History that tho' the Kingdom was always Elective, 'twas the perpetual custom of the People to chuse a Prince of the Royal Family, preferably to all the other Lords of the Kingdom. In the mean time the Count or *Jerl* *Birger* was intrusted with the care of the Government, during the Minority of King *Waldemar*: And that Wise Lord, who was his own Son's Minister, made it his principal Care to raise the Honor and Authority of the Crown. He concluded a Peace with the Neighbouring Princes, and then apply'd himself wholly to the contriving and pursuing of those Maxims that might make him absolute in the Kingdom. He built and fortify'd the City of *Stockholm*, instituted good and useful Laws, and exacted a punctual observance of 'em. Upon advice that some Lords began to grow Jealous of his Authority, and to complain that he
- made

made an ill use of it, he suppress'd those brooding Commotions, by ordering the principal Fomenters of 'em to be beheaded. Afterwards he marri'd the King his Son to *Sophia* the Daughter of *Eric* King of *Denmark*, that the Authority of his Family might be secur'd by so powerful an Alliance. As soon as the young Prince was of Age, he advanc'd his Father from the Dignity and Title of a *Fetl* to that of a *Duke*, as a Recompence for his paternal Care; and by his Father's Advice he created his Brother *Magnus* Prince of *Sudermania*, *Eric* Prince of *Smaland*, and *Benedict* Prince of *Finland*. *Birger* having settl'd his Family, and establish'd his Son upon the Throne, died not long after; and the Peace and Happiness of Sweden ended with the Life of that Great Man.

King *Waldemar* repenting his Kindness to the Princes his Brothers, endeavour'd to deprive 'em of the Estates he had bestow'd on 'em by way of *Appennage*, especially Duke *Magnus*, whom he accus'd of aspiring to the Crown. These Animosities occasion'd a furious intestine War, which was fomented by the *Danes*, and ended in the Defeat and Abdication of King *Waldemar*, who was taken Prisoner, and after he had resign'd the Crown retir'd with his Danish Auxiliaries to *Malmogen* in the Province of *Schonen*.

Magnus Ladislas.

The Merit of this Prince entitl'd him to the Possession of the Crown, which his Brother was neither able to preserve nor worthy to enjoy. In the Beginning of his Reign, he made it his Business to encrease his Revenues and diminish his Charge, as the surest way to establish his Authority. He made so strong an Interest in the Convention of the Estates, that the Sovereignty of all the Mines in the Kingdom, and of the Four great Lakes, *Meler*, *Wener*, *Weter*, and *Hielmer*, and all the Duties or Rents of the disforested Lands were solemnly vested in the Crown.

This wise Prince made use of so considerable an Augmentation of his Revenues to secure his Authority

ty against the natural Inconstancy of a Nation, that could neither live without a King nor submit to the Dominion of a potent and resolute Prince. He invited several *German* Lords to his Court, and advanc'd 'em to the principal Offices in the Kingdom. The Promotion of these Strangers, and the Interest which the King had in Foreign Countries made the *Swedish* Lords extreamly uneasy, and at last irritated 'em to such a degree that they assassinated all the *Germans*. The King was highly incens'd at so bold an Action, but had the Prudence to conceal his Indignation: In the mean time he made secret Levies, and as soon as he saw himself in a condition to execute his Revenge, he surpriz'd the Male-contents and caus'd their principal Ring-leaders to be beheaded. The Spirit of Rebellion seem'd to be quite extinguish'd by the Severity of so terrible a Blow, and that wise and daring Prince wou'd have certainly establish'd his Authority upon such sure Foundations, and advanc'd it to so great a height, that he might have bequeath'd an absolute Power to his Children, if the Accomplishment of his Designs had not been prevented by his Death. He left three Sons, *Birger*, *Eric*, and *Waldemar*, the eldest of whom was not 11 years old

Birger II.

During the Minority of this Prince, the Care of the Government was intrusted to *Torckel Emtson*, who made himself Master of *Carelia*, took *Hexholm* from the *Russes*, and fortified *Wiburg*, to cover the neighbouring Places from the Incursions of that People. After the King was of Age to undertake the Management of Affairs, he marry'd *Aleretta* the Daughter of *Eric*, King of *Denmark*; Prince *Waldemar* his Brother took to Wife the Daughter of the Regent *Emtson*, and Prince *Eric* marry'd *Ingeburgh* the Daughter of *Hequin* King of *Norway*. This Prince was so far from being deterr'd by the Fate of his Uncle King *Waldemar*, that he seem'd resolv'd to follow the same Methods which occasion'd all the Disorders that disturb'd the Reign of that Prince. He seiz'd on the Tythes, and imprison'd some Bishops, who took the liberty

liberty to complain of his Incroaching upon their Privileges. Nor did the Princes his Brothers meet with a better Treatment; for instead of suffering 'em to live unmolested in their respective Governments, he endeavour'd to make 'em depend absolutely on the Court, and to reduce 'em to an entire subjection to his arbitrary Commands. The injur'd Princes, perceiving the general Dissatisfaction of the People, took up Arms, and were follow'd by all those who were offended at the publick Violation of their Liberty and Privileges. In the mean time the King levy'd Forces to oppose the Designs of his Brothers, and was assisted by his Brother-in-law the King of Denmark: But finding himself unable to resist the prevailing Faction, he resolv'd to execute his Designs by Treachery, since he cou'd not depend upon the Success of his Arms. In pursuance of that unmanly Resolution, he invited his Brothers to Court, under the pretext of a sincere Reconciliation, and as soon as he had made himself Master of their Persons, by that infamous Stratagem, he order'd 'em to be cast into a Dungeon, where they were starv'd to death.

The Swedes abhorring the Baseness and Inhumanity of their Treacherous Sovereign, took up Arms immediately, advanc'd Magnus, the Son of Duke Eric to the Throne, and march'd in pursuit of King Birger, who had the Misfortune to see his Army defeated and his Son taken Prisoner by his Enemies. That unhappy Prince was made a Sacrifice to the Fury of the incens'd Multitude, who cut off his Head to deliver Magnus from so dangerous a Competitor; and his miserable Father dreading the same Fate, fled to Denmark, where he died in an obscure and ignominious Retreat.

The Reader will find, at the beginning of this Work, the Names of the succeeding Princes, with a short account of their Actions.

1330 Magnus Smeek, the Son of Duke Eric.

1372 Albert of Mecklenburg.

1395 Margaret, the Daughter of Waldemar K. of Denmark and Q. of the three Northern Nations.

1424 Eric XIII. Duke of Pomerania, Sovereign of the three Kingdoms of the North.

1441 Christopher of Bavaria, K. of the three Northern Nations.

1445 Charles Canusson, a Swedish Lord, elected K. of Sweden & Norway

1457 Christiern of Oldenburg, Ancestor of the present King of Denmark, King of the three Northern Nations.

1470. Steno I. King Canusson's Nephew, Administrator of the Kingdom of Sweden.

1504 Suanto Sturius, Administrator of Sweden.

1512 Steno II. the Son of Suanto, Administrator.

1520 Christiern II. Sovereign of the 3 Kingdoms of the North.

1523 Gustavus Vasa, a Swedish Lord, Administrator, and afterwards King of Sweden, procures the Crown to be entail'd

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